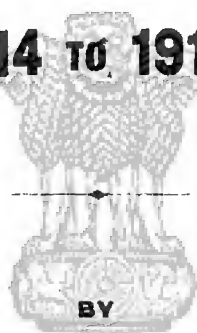


**FINAL REPORT**  
**ON THE**  
**SURVEY AND SETTLEMENT OPERATIONS**  
**IN THE**  
**DISTRICT OF NOAKHALI,**  
**1914 TO 1919.**



**W. H. THOMPSON,**  
*Settlement Officer.*



**CALCUTTA :**  
**BENGAL SECRETARIAT BOOK DEPOT.**  
**1919.**

Published at the Bengal Secretariat Book Depot,  
Writers' Buildings, Calcutta.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS.

### Part I.—General and Statistical Description of the District and People.

#### CHAPTER I.—The District.

SUBJECT.	PARA.	PAGE.
Boundaries and area . . . . .	1	1
Description of the mainland . . . . .	2	1
Geology and Soil . . . . .	3	2
Probable earth movements . . . . .	4	2
The appearance of the Countryside . . . . .	5-6	3
Description of the islands . . . . .	7	4
Their appearance . . . . .	8	5
Sandwip . . . . .	9	5
New islands near Sandwip . . . . .	10	6
Hatia . . . . .	11	6
North Hatia . . . . .	12	7
The Estuary . . . . .	13	7
The Tides . . . . .	14	7

#### History of the changes in the configuration of the land.

Evidence of changes . . . . .	15	8
Rennell . . . . .	16	8
Hodges' and Siddons' Surveys . . . . .	17	9
The Revenue Survey . . . . .	18	9
Diara Survey . . . . .	19	9
Present Survey . . . . .	20	9
Comparison of the maps . . . . .	21	9
Evidence supplementary to the Surveys : 1730 to Rennell's time . . . . .	22	10
Between Rennell's and Hodges' times . . . . .	23	10
Walters, 1819-20 . . . . .	24	10
Changes along the face of the mainland . . . . .	25	11
No advance by mainland in 200 years . . . . .	26	12
The north-western part of the district . . . . .	27	12
The changes among the islands . . . . .	28	13
The Division of Hatia . . . . .	29	14
Sandwip : Between Sandwip and Bāmni . . . . .	30	14
Conclusion in the matter of the changes . . . . .	31	15

#### Communications.

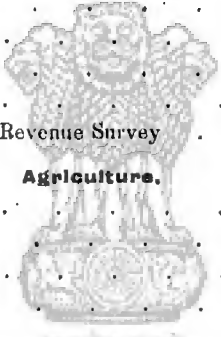
Railways . . . . .	32	15
Roads . . . . .	33	16
Before the Permanent Settlement . . . . .	34	16
Roads in Rennell's maps . . . . .	35-36	17
In the 19th Century and after . . . . .	37	18
Internal water communications . . . . .	38	18
Boats . . . . .	39	19
Ferries : mainland . . . . .	40	19
Between the islands . . . . .	41	19
Boat traffic on the big river . . . . .	42	20
Steamer service . . . . .	43	20

#### CHAPTER II.—The People.

Figures for area in the Census tables are wrong . . . . .	44	20
Revised table of distribution and density . . . . .	45	20

SUBJECT.	PARA.	PAGE.
The mainland and island populations distinct . . . . .	46	21
Changes in population since 1772 . . . . .	47	22
Distribution and density of population in 1881 . . . . .	48	22
Population in earlier times . . . . .	49	24
Non-agriculturalists . . . . .	50	24
The population dependent on agriculture . . . . .	51	25
Landlords and their Agents . . . . .	52	25
Hindus . . . . .	53	26
Encroachment of Muhammadans on what are usually the preserves of the Hindu functional castes . . . . .	54	27
No signs of progress in true civilization among the Hindus . . . . .	55	27
The Muhammadans . . . . .	56	27
The Moulana Sariatulla . . . . .	57	28
The Wahabi movement . . . . .	58	29
The Moulana Keramatali . . . . .	59	29
Little regard for the truth . . . . .	60	29
Village life . . . . .	61	30
<i>Hāts</i> . . . . .	62	30
<i>Hāts</i> shown on <i>thana</i> maps . . . . .	63	31
<i>Hāts</i> recognised for particular trade . . . . .	64	31
Age of <i>hāts</i> . . . . .	65	32

### CHAPTER III.—The employment of the land and agriculture.

Extent of the cultivated area . . . . .	66	32
The area culturable but not cultivated . . . . .	67	33
The unculturable area . . . . .	68	34
Compared with other districts . . . . .	69	34
Employment of land at the time of the Revenue Survey . . . . .	70	34
 Agriculture.		
Rainfall . . . . .	71	35
The seasonal crops . . . . .	72	36
Crops grown in Noakhali . . . . .	73	37
Cultivation of rice . . . . .	74	37
Dangers to the rice crop . . . . .	75	39
The cultivation of jute . . . . .	76	39
Area by settlement figures compared with the figures of "Jute forecast" . . . . .	77	40
The profit in jute-growing . . . . .	78	41
The quality of Noakhali jute . . . . .	79	41
Spring crops . . . . .	80	42
Vegetables . . . . .	81	42
Betelnut trees . . . . .	82	43
Cocoanut and other palms . . . . .	83	44
Fruit trees . . . . .	84	44
Custom regarding trees . . . . .	85	45
Agricultural stock . . . . .	86	45
Lack of grazing ground . . . . .	87	45
Breeding of cattle . . . . .	88	46
The local breed sufficient for agricultural needs . . . . .	89	46
Buffaloes, sheep and goats . . . . .	90	47
Transport . . . . .	91	47
The value of the produce of agriculture . . . . .	92	47
Comparison with Faridpur and Dacca . . . . .	93	48

## PART II.—Fiscal History and the Resultant System of Land Tenure.

### CHAPTER I.—Before 1765.

Introductory . . . . .	94	49
The <i>Parganas</i> self-contained . . . . .	95	49
The first Moghul assessment, 1587 . . . . .	96	50

SUBJECT.	PARA.	PAGE.
Second Moghul assessment, 1658 . . . . .	97	50
Third Moghul assessment, 1722 . . . . .	98	50
The <i>Atwāb</i> . . . . .	99	51
The revenue of Noakhali, 1728 . . . . .	100	51
<i>Khālsa</i> and <i>Jāgir</i> , 1728 . . . . .	101	52
The extent of the <i>atwābs</i> in Noakhali . . . . .	102	53

## CHAPTER II.—Early British Administration and the Permanent Settlement.

Revenue matters at first in the hands of Indians . . . . .	103	53
The Quinquennial Settlement . . . . .	104	54
Appointment of Collectors . . . . .	105	54
Centralization . . . . .	106	54
Failure of the Quinquennial Settlement . . . . .	107	54
The policy of farming settlements discarded . . . . .	108	55
Annual Settlements . . . . .	109	55
Formation of the Tippera district . . . . .	110	56
The decennial settlement ordered : <i>khārīja tāluks</i> . . . . .	111	56
Decennial settlement delayed in Tippera . . . . .	112	56

### Material available as a basis for the Permanent Settlement.

Satisfactory information available for the first time when estates held <i>khas</i> . . . . .	113	57
Rent Roll prepared for Sandwip : Duncan's report . . . . .	114	58
Rawlins' Survey . . . . .	115	59

### The manner in which the Permanent Settlement was concluded.

The Collector's position . . . . .	116	59
Separation of <i>khārīja tāluks</i> . . . . .	117	60
Settlement of Amrabad . . . . .	118	60
Collector's difficulties . . . . .	119	61
Amrabad held <i>khās</i> for a year . . . . .	120	61
Claims for revision investigated . . . . .	121	62
Settlement concluded . . . . .	122	62
Subsequent difficulties and the solution suggested . . . . .	123	63
Conclusion . . . . .	124	63
Rate of assessment at Permanent Settlement . . . . .	125	65

## CHAPTER III.—History subsequent to the Permanent Settlement.

The struggle against the sale procedure . . . . .	126	65
Noakhali separated from Tippera . . . . .	127	66
Additions to revenue since Permanent Settlement . . . . .	128	67
Resumption of invalid <i>lākherāj</i> . . . . .	129	67
Resumption of alluvial formations . . . . .	130	68
Cases in which the engagements of the Permanent Settlements were broken . . . . .	131	69
The policy of the <i>dāimi</i> settlements . . . . .	132	69
The <i>Tauzi</i> numbers changed in 1887 . . . . .	133	70
A summary . . . . .	134	71

## CHAPTER IV.—The History and Tenure System of each *Pargana*.

Introductory . . . . .	135	71
Area of <i>parganas</i> . . . . .	136	71
<i>Pargana</i> Bhulua . . . . .	137	72
After the Permanent Settlement . . . . .	138	73
Tenure system . . . . .	139	73
Important <i>khārīja tāluks</i> of Bhulua . . . . .	140	73
<i>Pargana</i> Amirabad of Bhulua . . . . .	141	74
<i>Pargana</i> Babupur . . . . .	142	74
Tenure system in Babupur . . . . .	143	75
Tappe Jaynagar . . . . .	144	76

SUBJECT.	PARA.	PAGE.
Pargana Rāmchandrāpur . . . . .	145	76
„ Syāmpur . . . . .	146	76
„ Gopālpur Mirzānagar . . . . .	147	77
„ Amrābād . . . . .	148	78
Difficulties in Amrābād . . . . .	149	78
Pargana Jugidia . . . . .	150	79
Parganas Bedarābād and Amirābād . . . . .	151	80
The land of all four estates now treated as their joint-property . . . . .	152	81
Acquisition by the “ Law Raj ” . . . . .	153	81
Pargana Sandwip . . . . .	154-155	81
Tenure system in Sandwip . . . . .	156	83
Pargana Shāestānagar . . . . .	157	83
Pargana Dāndra and Ellāhābād . . . . .	158	84
Tippera Parganas : Roshnābād . . . . .	159	84
Pargana Homnābād . . . . .	160	84
Pargana Pātikāra . . . . .	161	84
Pargana Mehār, etc. . . . .	162	85
Village Kāta Mobārakghona . . . . .	163	85
Pargana Dakshin Sāhabāzpur . . . . .	164	85

#### CHAPTER V.—Statistics of Tenancies and Rents.

Quinquennial papers . . . . .	165	85
Classes of estates . . . . .	166	86
Size of estates . . . . .	167	87
Coparcenary . . . . .	168	87
Coparcenary in tenures . . . . .	169	88
Subinfeudation . . . . .	170	88
Land in direct occupation of the proprietors . . . . .	171-172	89
Land in the direct occupation of tenure-holders . . . . .	173-174	90
Land in occupation of <i>raiya</i> s . . . . .	175	91
Settled <i>raiya</i> s . . . . .	176	91
Infrequency of produce rents . . . . .	177	91
<i>Raiya</i> rents . . . . .	178	92
Land held by under- <i>raiya</i> s . . . . .	179	93

### PART III.—The Present Operations.

#### CHAPTER I.—Initiation and Progress.

Proposals submitted to the Government of India . . . . .	180	94
Sanction and Notification . . . . .	181	95
Instructions regarding areas to be excluded . . . . .	182	95
What was ultimately excluded . . . . .	183	95
Chakla Roshnābād ultimately omitted . . . . .	184	95
Area actually dealt with . . . . .	185	96
Feni River block . . . . .	186	96
Office buildings . . . . .	187	96

#### Traverse Survey.

Traverse Survey . . . . .	188	97
Traverse connections to the islands . . . . .	189	98
Connection with G. T. Stations . . . . .	190	98

#### Cadastral Survey.

Scale employed . . . . .	191	98
Arrangements . . . . .	192	98
<i>Amin</i> 's fees . . . . .	193	99
An experienced staff . . . . .	194	99
Methods of Survey . . . . .	195	99
Check of the sheet . . . . .	196	100
What the <i>āmins</i> made . . . . .	197	100

SUBJECT.	PARA.	PAGE.
Special pieces of survey . . . . .	198	101
The unit of survey . . . . .	199	101
Village names . . . . .	200	101

**Boundary Disputes and Demarcation of Boundaries made under Part V of the Survey Act of 1875.**

Boundary disputes . . . . .	201	102
Demarcation cases . . . . .	202	102

**Khanapuri.**

The adoption of a new method in Noakhali . . . . .	203	103
The village, the essential unit: the record of a village to be complete in itself . . . . .	204	105
Repetition of the <i>Mudāfāt</i> of landlords' interests not made in tenants' <i>khatīāns</i> . . . . .	205	105
Resultant economy . . . . .	206	106
Supervision of <i>khānapuri</i> . . . . .	207	106

**Between Khanapuri and Bujharat.**

Preliminary office work . . . . .	208	107
-----------------------------------	-----	-----

**Bujharat.**

Progress . . . . .	209	107
<i>Thāk</i> comparison . . . . .	210	107
Use of Collectorate registers . . . . .	211	108
Enquiries regarding public lands . . . . .	212	108
Railway roadside lands . . . . .	213	109

**Attestation.**

Attestation easy in Noakhali district . . . . .	214	109
The custom of promotion to the status of tenure-holder . . . . .	215	110
Promotion in shares . . . . .	216	110
<i>Kāimi raiyati</i> . . . . .	217	110
Questions of fixity of rent . . . . .	218	111
Results of wholesale promotion . . . . .	219	111
The incidence of tenures . . . . .	220	112
The Char Algi Case . . . . .	221	113
Merger of tenures . . . . .	222	113
Incidence of <i>raiyaṭi</i> holdings . . . . .	223	113
Under-raiyats . . . . .	224	114

**Draft Publication and Objection under Section 103A.**

Arrangements for draft publication . . . . .	225	114
Analysis of Objection . . . . .	226	114

**Final office work.**

Co-ordination in final office work . . . . .	227	116
Final <i>Jānch</i> . . . . .	228	116
The routine in the Sadar Office . . . . .	229	117
Cess Calculation . . . . .	230	117
Statistics . . . . .	231	118
Printing . . . . .	232	119
Proof-reading and final check . . . . .	233	120
Press hostel . . . . .	234	120

**CHAPTER II.—Government and Temporarily-settled Estates.**

**Assessment of Rent and revision of Land Revenue.**

Six groups of estates . . . . .	235	121
---------------------------------	-----	-----

**The Sandwip group of estates.**

Estates of Sandwip group . . . . .	235	121
Partition proposed . . . . .	237	122
Proceedings under the Estates Partition Act . . . . .	238	122
Partitions under Regulation VII of 1822 . . . . .	239	123

SUBJECT.	PARA.	PAGE.
Cases in which Government's property remains joint with private estates . . . . .	240	123
Char Magdhara . . . . .	241	123
Confusion in the Collectorate on one point . . . . .	242	124
<i>Jamābandi</i> in the Sandwip Group: estate No. 1666 . . . . .	243	124
<i>Jamābandi</i> of Char Magdhara . . . . .	244	125
Assessment in the remaining estates . . . . .	245	126
Objections under section 104E . . . . .	246	126
<i>Kists</i> in Sandwip . . . . .	247	127
Proprietary allowance . . . . .	248	127
<b>Bamni Group.</b>		
Estates of Bāmni Group . . . . .	249	127
Partition carried out as in Sandwip . . . . .	250	127
Estate No. 211 . . . . .	251	127
Estate No. 1598 . . . . .	252	128
Char Hakdi, etc. . . . .	253	128
The assessment made : Chakla Bāmni . . . . .	254	128
Other estates . . . . .	255	129
<b>The Island Group near Noakhali.</b>		
Char Jabbar and Char Jubilee . . . . .	256	130
Char Bailey . . . . .	257	130
Char Lengta . . . . .	258	131
<b>North Hatia Group.</b>		
Estates of North Hatia Group . . . . .	259	131
Assessment, estate No. 1592 . . . . .	260	131
Present Settlement . . . . .	261	132
Other estates . . . . .	262	132
Estate 1569 . . . . .	263	133
Petty Settlements in North Hatia . . . . .	264	133
<b>South Hatia Group.</b>		
Estates of South Hatia Group . . . . .	265	133
The minor Settlements . . . . .	266	134
Nalchira . . . . .	267	134
Char Tamaruddi . . . . .	268	135
Other estates . . . . .	269	136
<b>North Western Group.</b>		
Bānchānagar and Bālāmāra dealt with in the Petty Settlements . . . . .	270	136
Estates dealt with in the present operations . . . . .	271	137
Char Bangshi . . . . .	272	137
Other estates . . . . .	273	138
Char Udmāra . . . . .	274	138
Remaining estates . . . . .	275	139
<b>Diara Survey.</b>		
The Diara Survey of 1880—1882 . . . . .	270	139
The present operations . . . . .	277	139
Summary of resumption made . . . . .	278	139
Resumption in Char Kalakopa . . . . .	279	140
Resumptions in the Little Feni river . . . . .	280	140
The resumptions in Char Abdulla . . . . .	281	140
Summary of results . . . . .	282	141
A piece of advice . . . . .	283	141

### CHAPTER III.—Case Work and the Results of Cess Revaluation.

Cases filed . . . . .	284	142
Disposal . . . . .	285	142
Results . . . . .	286	143
Results of Cess Revaluation . . . . .	287	143
Incidence of the new valuation . . . . .	288	144
Costs of the revaluation . . . . .	289	144

**CHAPTER IV.—Expenditure and Apportionment of Costs.**

SUBJECT.	PARA.	PAGE.
Expenditure on each stage of the work compared with estimates and standard rates . . . . .	290	144
Items in which estimates were exceeded . . . . .	291	146
Contingent expenditure . . . . .	292	146
Items in which there were savings . . . . .	293	147
Large saving under the head Supervision . . . . .	294	147
Receipts . . . . .	295	148
Net expenditure . . . . .	296	148
Apportionment of costs . . . . .	297	148
Recovery of costs . . . . .	298	149
Total demand from private persons . . . . .	299	149
The demand from the Local Government . . . . .	300	150

**PART IV.—Conclusion.**

Realization of rents . . . . .	301	151
Rent suits . . . . .	302	151
One rent in twelve realized through the Civil Court . . . . .	303	152
Failure of procedure in rent suits . . . . .	304	152
Judge's and Munsif's copies of the record . . . . .	305	153
Notice of Officers . . . . .	306	154

**LIST OF APPENDICES.****GENERAL.**

I. Map of the district . . . . .	i
II. Map illustrating changes in the configuration of the land . . . . .	i
III. Map showing position of <i>parganas</i> . . . . .	i
IV. Map showing temporarily-settled area . . . . .	i
V. Conversion tables between old and new <i>tanzi</i> numbers . . . . .	ii
VI. Notifications . . . . .	
(a) List of important notifications . . . . .	xii
(b) Detailed notification under section 101(1), Bengal Tenancy Act, defining excluded area . . . . .	xiii
(c) Apportionment order under section 114, Bengal Tenancy Act . . . . .	xiv
VII. Rules for Cess Revaluation and special forms used . . . . .	xv
VIII. Copy of the letter regarding correctness of the records, prepared in the course of Roshnābād settlement . . . . .	xxxii
IX. Specimen of final <i>khatīāns</i> . . . . .	
(a) Proprietary . . . . .	xxxi
(b) Middle right . . . . .	xxxviii
(c) Mixed <i>khatīān</i> . . . . .	xl
(d) <i>Raiyati</i> . . . . .	xlii
X. List of officers employed . . . . .	xliv
XI. List of <i>khās mahāl</i> estates under revision of Land Revenue with old and new revenue and period of settlement . . . . .	xlvii
XII. List of <i>khās mahāl</i> estates not under revision of Land Revenue with revenue and period of settlement . . . . .	xlviii
XIII. List of temporarily-settled estates under revision of Land Revenue with old and new revenue and period of settlement . . . . .	xlix
XIV. List of temporarily-settled estates not under revision of Land Revenue with revenue and period of settlement . . . . .	li
XV. List of <i>khās mahāl</i> estates without demand . . . . .	li
XVI. List of <i>Diara</i> Proceedings . . . . .	li
XVII. Statement showing details of the Revaluation Operation as compared with those of the previous Revaluation . . . . .	lii

**STATISTICS**

A.— <i>Milan khasra</i> for whole district . . . . .	lii
B.—Crop statistics for whole district . . . . .	liii
C.—Agricultural stock list for area surveyed in District Settlement Operations . . . . .	liii
D.—Statistics of tenancy and rent for area surveyed in District Settlement Operations . . . . .	liv

**GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL.**

**REVENUE DEPARTMENT.**

**Land Revenue Branch.**

— ◆ —  
No. 815 L. R.

FROM W. S. HOPKYNs, Esq., O.B.E., I.C.S..

*Offg. Secretary to the Government of Bengal,*

TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,

DEPARTMENT OF REVENUE AND AGRICULTURE.

*Dated Calcutta, the 5th February 1921.*

SIR,

I AM directed by the Governor in Council to forward, for the information of the Government of India, a copy of the final report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the district of Noakhali (1914—1919), together with a copy of a review of the report contained in a letter, No. XXV-5-1967, dated the 22nd January 1920, from the Director of Land Records, with which the report was submitted to Government.

2. The report has been prepared by W. H. Thompson, I.C.S., who was in charge of the Settlement Operations from the beginning. It is an interesting record of work, which was well organised and carried out both tactfully and economically. The report has been fully reviewed in the letter of the Director of Land Records.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient servant,

W. S. HOPKYNs,

*Offg. Secretary to the Government of Bengal.*



**FINAL REPORT**  
**ON THE**  
**SURVEY AND SETTLEMENT OPERATIONS**  
**IN THE**  
**DISTRICT OF NOAKHALI.**

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**PART I.**

**CHAPTER I.**

**The District.**

1. The district of Noakhali is the easternmost of the deltaic districts fringing the Bay of Bengal. It consists of as much of the mainland from the mouth of the Meghna river to the eastern limits of the delta as falls south of about 23° 5' North Latitude, and the islands opposite to it. On the mainland the district includes *thana* Chhagalnaia which is rather the basin of the Muhuri river system flowing from the Tippera Hills than a part of the delta. In the south-east corner it borders on Chittagong district from which it is divided by the Feni river. The boundary follows that river until it enters the hills and then follows close to the edge of the Tippera Hills, north, west and south-west round the basin of the Muhuri river, to the end of the tongue of hills which separates the valley from the Tippera district. From that point to its north-west corner on the banks of the Meghnā the district borders on the district of Tippera. The boundary line is marked by no natural features. When Noakhali was separated from the Tippera Collectorate it was certain *parganas* that were set apart. The subsequent adjustment of the boundary line for purpose of civil jurisdiction followed the boundaries of the *parganas* with only such modifications as were necessary to make the line continuous. On the west the main stream of the Meghnā is the boundary. The islands of Hātiā are included, but Dakshin Sāhabāzpur and Manpurā are in the district of Bakarganj. The island of Sandwip with its appendages and the other islands between it and Hātiā complete the district, the total land area of which is approximately 1,535 square miles. So rapid however are the changes on the sea face and among the islands that the area is continually changing.

2. In striking contrast to the other districts of the delta the mainland of Noakhali is not intersected by rivers or even *khāls* which are not dry for half the year. While the district of Bakarganj to the west is so cut up by rivers, of which some are over a mile wide and a very large number over a quarter of a mile wide, that continuous communication by land is impossible in any direction, there is only one in Noakhali which at its mouth is a considerable river. Even it, the Little Feni River, a few miles inland becomes a narrow meandering stream which is crossed by a 200-foot iron bridge built by the District Board on the road from Noakhali to Feni. The Noakhali *khāl* just east of Noakhali was a few years ago a narrow stream which the road crossed by a bridge built on brick arches. The tide, which has been cutting away the coast very rapidly at this point during the last quarter of a century, has found its way in and out of this *khāl* and has widened it to many times its former width at its mouth, but four or five miles inland it is still a little *khāl* only 40 feet wide. From Noakhali westward round the

coast to the north-west corner of the district where the Dākātiā river passes out to join the Meghna there are only four openings, the Sāntāsītā *khāl*, the Mahendrā *khāl*, where Noakhali and Lakshmipur *thanas* touch, the Bhawāniganj *khāl* and the Lakshmipur *khāl*. The first three the road from Noakhali to Lakshmipur crosses by bridges with only 30 feet or so of waterway and the bridge at Lakshmipur is not a long one. The Dākātiā river has been bridged at Rāipurā by the District Board with the assistance of one of the Shāestānagar *Zamindārs* and after crossing it a road could be carried to Chāndpur with no need for bridges except for surface drainage. From the mouth of the Little Feni river in the south-east corner of the Noakhali mainland round the coast to Chandpur there is, but for the openings mentioned, a continuous belt of high land. Rain water lies in the fields during the wet season but the annual flood does not pass over it. Its existence means that the drainage of the interior is very slow. The water has to dry up where it has fallen. This is the reason why water is found lying in the fields in parts of Rāmganj *thana* as late as January, but the country is not really low. Practically nowhere in Noakhali district is there any land so low that the winter rice crop cannot be grown.

3. The soil and with it the general aspect of the country side changes as one passes from the hills on the north-east to the Meghna and the sea. The lowest hills—and it is only the fringes of these that are within Noakhali—are composed of a hard red clay which contains also fine sand of the same colour and nodules containing a large percentage of the sesquioxide of iron. In places the clay has attained a schistose structure, which however falls to pieces with a little force, and has the appearance of sandstone. It contains no fossils except large fragments of *dicotyledonous* wood. The formation of which the hills consist was probably laid down in fresh or brackish water in the late Tertiary period, raised during the later stages of the earth movements which have built and are still building the Himalayas, and denuded to its present outlines. The soil immediately below the hills is the result of the denudation of them. It is a fine yellow clay which becomes very hard in the dry season. The settlement staff saw little of it as the easternmost *thana*, Chhagalnaia, was excluded from the District Settlement Operations having been previously surveyed as part of Chaklā Roshnābād. Passing through Feni *thana* towards the west and south, the soil gradually changes becoming a less fine clay with more sand in it, a grey instead of a yellow colour and more friable when it is dry, until it approximates to the soil usually found in the other districts of the delta. It is very rich and becomes richer and darker in colour as the belt along the coast is reached, the variations in the shade of its grey depending on the proportion of vegetable mould it contains. This proportion also governs its power of retaining moisture. The high belt is comparatively old. There is a distinct change in the aspect of the country when newer formations are reached. The soil is sandier and of a lighter colour although very little less fertile. Such newer formations are the villages in Feni *thana* at the mouth of the two Feni rivers, most of Companyganj *thana*, the villages of Noakhali and Lakshmipur *thanas* south of the Noakhali-Bhawāniganj road, Bālammarā and the *chars* at the mouth of the Dākātiā river.

4. It seems probable that such earth movements as have been going on while the delta was being formed have tended to raise the level of Noakhali, being the counterpart of similar movements which have depressed the country under the hills in the districts further north and formed the great *bils* in the north and east of Mymensingh, in Sylhet and in the north of Tippera. Evidence that such earth movements are going on is necessarily very difficult to discover. Mr. Smart, the Revenue Surveyor, who surveyed in the season 1863-64 the southernmost part of Tippera and most of the Noakhali mainland, leaving only the area near the coast and the islands to be surveyed the next year, in his annual report described the country as being "flat and of a very low level". I think the adverb is significant, for it was only two seasons before that he had surveyed the low-lying area now comprising Brāhmanbāriā subdivision. His maps showed considerable areas marked as swamp, especially between

Lakshmipur and Ramganj. These areas are still low, but are all under cultivation and winter rice never fails to produce a good crop. If he saw them now he could certainly not have marked them as he did. Sir William Hunter says "an earthquake in 1762 is said to have engulfed a tract of country 15 miles in extent with all its inhabitants and the Collector suggests that other depressions of land, now the site of deep marshes, may be due to similar causes". Whatever may have been their origin there are no longer deep marshes as there appear to have been 50 years ago, and as this period seems too short for the change to have taken place owing to a deposit of silt in areas shut off from the waters of the big river, what has happened points to the probability that the area is being raised by earth movement. The fact that the high belt of land along the sea face is at a level so much higher than any flood reaches points to the same conclusion.

5. Away from the coast there is not the same profusion of trees that there is near it, but the countryside is very far from bare. In Feni subdivision, especially towards the east, cocoanut trees, of which every homestead in the west of the district has several, are uncommon and betelnut trees are very much fewer. The foliage that shuts in the homesteads is that of jack-fruit, mango and *bel* trees and clumps of bamboos. Though the fields are bare and empty from the end of December till April the homesteads and gardens never lose their greenness. Close to the hills the earth is hard enough when it is dry to be used for the walls of a hut. It is not often so used, but its consistency makes itself obvious in the neat high *aïls* which form the field boundaries. High raised *aïls* are the rule throughout Chhagalnāī *thana* and all the eastern part of Feni *thana*. Towards the west of the district they give place to lower boundary lines held together by the grass which is allowed to grow upon them. Over most of the mainland the tracery of the field boundaries over the landscape appears unbroken to the eye. It is only in the lower open spaces in the north of Begamganj that the demarcation of the field boundaries is not so obvious. The houses in which the inhabitants live are, as usual in Bengal, grouped round a courtyard, cowsheds and outhouses standing sometimes in the same quadrangle but more often a little back from it. The huts have walls generally made of bamboo matting, but in poor peoples' houses sometimes of dry jute stalks from which the fibre has been removed. The roofs are thatched, but in most homesteads, except the poorest, there are one or two huts with roofs of corrugated iron. It is everyone's ambition to have a "tin house"—the English word "tin" is used. Its great advantage is that it removes much of the danger of fire. The huts in which the inhabitants live are however much less a feature of the landscape than might be expected, owing to the fact that they are hidden away in the trees. So much is this the case that the cultivated fields might be imagined to be clearings and the homesteads and gardens the remains of a forest, whereas in reality the latter have been planted on the raised parts of an open plain. When a tinshed stands in the open, closer inspection will generally reveal the little bay built out towards the west which marks it for a mosque. Brickbuilt mosques which, freshly white-washed and ornamented with coloured tiles, supply a welcome break in the prevailing green of the scenery are not uncommon, but the "tin" mosque is to be met with almost every half-a-mile.

6. The area given up to gardens and homesteads surrounded by trees becomes proportionally much larger as the coast is reached. From the river, the coast behind such new formations as there are appears lined with a continuous forest of trees without a break. In fact on the high belt along the coast it may almost be said that it is the cultivation that is in patches, interspersed among the cocoanut and betelnut (areca) gardens in which the homesteads lie buried. There can be few localities in the world richer in their vegetation and their crops than this. It reaches its richest form from Bhawāniganj where the bank takes a turn towards the north up to Rāipurā. At several points between these two places there are betelnut plantations stretching continuously for a quarter-of-a-mile or more. The belt has a definite outer edge towards the sea and the Meghnā. A line, to which the river once cut back before it receded again, is usually obvious. But it has no definite inner

edge. Away from the river the country very gradually becomes less high; the homesteads and gardens very gradually diminish in size, leaving more of the land for cultivation. Ultimately, fifteen or twenty miles inland, the wide open spaces of rice fields are reached in the east of Rāmganj *thana*, north of Begamganj *thana* and northern and western parts of Feui. These areas are generally lower than the rest, and at the northernmost end of the jurisdiction of Senbāg police-station and across the border round Sātbāriā in Tippera there is a patch of swamp, from which the cultivators' homesteads stand up in dense clusters on the only available sites that could be raised above flood level.

7. The marked contrast between the mainland of Noakhali and the mainland of Bakarganj is not repeated in the island portions of the two districts. The Noakhali islands with Dakshin Sāhabāzpur of Bakarganj and its neighbours all lie in the estuary of the Meghnā, subject to the same influences of tide and current, and show the same characteristics. The waters of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra enter Noakhali a short distance below their junction with the Meghnā in a single river with a width of 3 miles. So they flow for a few miles, but afterwards open like a fan and pass out into the Bay of Bengal in three main streams. The *Ulsā* is the name given to the westernmost which passes between Bakarganj mainland and Dakshin Sāhabāzpur. The middle one, sometimes called the Sāhabāzpur river, passes between Dakshin Sāhabāzpur and Hātiā. For the eastern there is no distinctive name. To the Noakhali people who have no other streams that they might confuse with it, it is just the Big River. The relative volume of water which passes through each of these three passages governs the changes which take place so rapidly and to all appearance so arbitrarily in the configuration of the islands. But it is very difficult to distinguish cause and effect. The sinking of a large country boat full of cement anywhere near the apex of the fan might have very strange and far-reaching results. A common characteristic of all the islands that have definitely established themselves is that each is a solid block of high land, resembling in miniature in that respect the mainland of Noakhali, a circumstance which makes it probable that the Noakhali mainland grew, not like the Sundarbans are growing by the action of distributaries of the Ganges which carry only a comparatively small bulk of its waters to the sea, but by the action of the main estuary itself. If this is so, it contradicts the theory that the main waters of the Ganges have left its western distributaries comparatively recently. But the more one sees of the fluvial action in the estuary the less one is inclined to advance any theory regarding the past or any prediction of the future. The facts of what has taken place within historical times will be detailed later. The easternmost of the three channels already mentioned does not find its way as directly into the Bay as the others, and at present it seems to be carrying a lesser volume of water than the middle one. There may be something misleading in that mode of expression, for the estuary is so wide, so open to the inrush of the tide, that the currents flow past the islands as fast into the estuary when the tide is rising as they flow out when the tide falls. The inflow in the dry months seems to last almost as long as the outflow, but a much shorter time during the rains. To change the mode of expression for a safer one, it appears at present that the channel between Noakhali mainland and North Hātiā island has lately become comparatively shallow. Immediately to the east of North Hātiā there is an opening into the Bay. It is certainly shallower than it was a few years ago. The other side of it is the large island comprising the *khās mahāls* Char Jabbar and Char Jubilee, new formations still growing fast in the direction of the mainland which is here being fast diluviated. South-east of this island is another large new one comprising Char Amānullā, Char Languliā and Char Bātā. It is growing towards the north and north-west and being diluviated in the south. Cultivation on these two large islands is new, especially in Char Jubilee and Char Amānullā. The tenants have not yet gone to live permanently on the *chars*. They go over with their ploughs and cattle to put down the crop and again to reap it, but have none of them yet taken their women with them and settled down there, although they will probably

begin to do so in a year or two. Even now it might have happened in Char Jabbar, the oldest of them (the whole of the first island and most of the second belong to Government), if the selection of the settlers had not been so bad. Most of the lands went to *bhadralok* and shopkeepers of Noakhali, Collectorate *chaprassis* and the like. South-east again is a wide channel across which is Sandwip island, the oldest of them all.

8. The islands, like the mainland, are almost dead level, but this characteristic is very much more apparent in the bare new formations than where the land is dotted over with homesteads deep in groves of various kinds of trees. When islands first appear they do so as sleek mud flats at low tide. They rise rapidly and soon become banks of level sand, hard and firm except at the edges and in the bottom of the *nullahs* that intersect them, where there is a soft layer of very fine silt. Then grass grows, not usually the tall coarse grass which is often put down on purpose in *chārs* in the Meghnā and Ganges to catch the silt and raise their level the quicker, but good short turf which makes excellent grazing. The demand for land is very great near the coast of the mainland as it has been much diluviated of late, and it is not long before *aïls* are cut and a crop of *Rājshāil* paddy is taken from the fields. Seen from the mainland across a few miles of smooth water the coast of North Hātiā or any of the other islands within sight appears like a pencil line drawn along the indistinct horizon between water and sky, which, as they meet, take both of them the same silver grey shades. They are thicker lines when the tide is out, and even on approaching near the effect is the same—a level line with the tones of a charcoal sketch. The few unsheltered huts built for temporary occupation during seed time and harvest on the newest cultivated *chars*, the first permanently-occupied houses distinguished from them by a row of plantain trees, the banks of the first tanks that have been cut to water the cattle taken over to the *char* for ploughing, even the cattle themselves, appear strangely exaggerated in size and make the distance deceptive. Only when one mounts the bank does the picture take on colour in foreground of green grass or yellow stubble, the addition of which also establishes a normal perspective.

9. Sandwip is known to be very much older than any of the other islands. It is said to have been brought under cultivation before the adjoining mainland, a supposition supported by the relatively high revenue of the *pargana* at Todar Mull's assessment, and is mentioned by Cesare Fedrico the Venetian who visited it in 1569. An account of its history during the time when it was the headquarters of the Portuguese pirates from 1605 to 1620 is given in the Noakhali Gazetteer. Much of the older part of the island has now disappeared. The tides have nibbled steadily at the southern end for the last 150 years. On the north-western side diluvion reached its maximum about 1840, and left the old land the pearshaped figure which is very obvious on a map of the island on which village boundaries are shown. All round from the north-west to the south-east are new formations, partly accretions to the old island and partly separate island formations in origin. In the aspect of the country there is a very clear line of separation between the old land and the new. The new land is open, with small homestead and garden plots and few trees. The old land is almost as thick with betelnut and cocoanut palms, mango, jack fruit and other trees as the rich belt of land along the coast of the mainland. The soil is the same too. It is sandy clay mixed with decayed vegetable matter, and quite unable to resist the erosion of the tides when a determined attack is made upon it. It is difficult to imagine it a headquarters for a sea-faring race like the Portuguese pirates to choose. The water round it is turgid and shallow. The tides race past it at such a rate and the bottom is so soft that no considerable vessel could find safe anchorage against it. The probability is that the pirates had lost the vessels they had brought from Portugal before they resorted to Sandwip, and used only such small boats as they could build with the help of local labour; that they were river pirates rather than sea pirates all the time they held it. There are the remains of no brickwork forts or other buildings on the island, and the accounts of the Portuguese show that their defences took the form of stockades.

They have left no memorial on the island itself. The "Feringhees", Christians of the Roman Catholic Church who have their blood in their veins, are now only found on the mainland close to Noakhali.

10. South of Sandwip there is a new island which is called Udaykhāli.

New island near Sandwip.

It is as yet only used for grazing and that little, for it is very difficult of access, but it is growing fast towards the south, and even now, if it had not been so far away, men could easily have been found to bring its highest land under cultivation. To the north of Sandwip, between it and the coast of Companyganj, there is another island, Char Lengtā, which is considerably larger and is growing still faster. A block of it belongs by partition to a private landlord. As much of the rest as was fit for demarcation has now been parcelled out to tenants and cultivation is being started.

11. The Hātiā islands remain to be described. As will be shown in

Hātiā.

detail later, Hātiā has been carved away and remodelled much faster and more often than either Sandwip or Dakshin Sāhabāzpur. One portion in each of the two main Hātiā islands is about 120 years old and the rest is all newer. The oldest portion of North Hātiā is round Ramṛati, the villages of Char Lakshmi, Barakheri, Char Ramiz and Char Gosāin, and in South Hātiā Harni, Char Bātā, Sagardi, Chandnandi and parts of Nilakhi. Sukchar, Nalchirā and Char Gazi formed next and almost all the rest is considerably newer. In the oldest villages the scenery is the same as that of formations of the same age on the mainland, the same for instance as that of *thana* Companyganj, but the betelnut gardens and the profusion of foliage burying the homesteads are not as dense as in Sandwip or along the coast west of Noakhali town. Nalchirā is full of gardens, but the newer formations are wide stretches of paddy land with smaller and fewer homestead sites and very little in the way of trees to break the monotony of the landscape. The new formations except in South Hātiā do not become overgrown with jungle as they do there and in the Sundarbans. Why no jungle appeared on new *chars* near the coast nor even on Udaykhāli, so far south as it is, and so long untouched as it has been except for cattle being grazed upon it, while Jāhājmārā and Burir Char and the somewhat older formations in South Hātiā, Chengār Char, Tamaruddin and Char King, were covered with dense tree jungle almost as soon as they formed, is a question to which no answer offers itself. Perhaps it is stranger that Jāhājmārā, for instance, separated by a 2-mile-wide channel from its nearest neighbour should be covered with thick jungle inhabited by wild buffaloes and pigs, than that Udaykhāli should be a bare level of short turf. There seems to be something in the suggestion that the tide water tends to come up past Sandwip, round the islands in front of the Noakhali coast from east to west and out again past Hātiā and Dakshin Sāhabāzpur, and so seeds, or whatever it is that propagates the jungle trees, are not carried to islands on the east and north. But the argument is not convincing. Such *chars* as Jāhājmārā are soft mud. All through the season when the Meghnā is high they go under water at high tide and all the year round the tides flood them at full moon. One sinks almost to one's knees at every step and the spiky shoots of the swamp trees and thorns make progress very difficult. The foliage is so dense that one can see but a few paces in front, and a wild buffalo, extricating himself from the mud with a noise like crawling the cork from an enormous beer bottle, sounds as if he were just by one's side. The jungle is mostly made up of *Kefrā*, *Gazā*, *Gomeā*, *Lonā* and *Balāi* as they are called in Bengali, untidy thorny or spiked plants generally not more than 10 or 12 feet high, which can grow half in and half out of the brackish water. At least Nalchirā and all to the south of it are known to have been covered with jungle directly after they were first formed, and probably all of what is now South Hātiā was the same. A great deal of salt was manufactured in Hātiā and the jungle wood was used for fuel in that manufacture. Since salt manufacture was given up the clearing of the jungle has fallen upon the settlers, and the burden is very heavy on those who have been the first to start in each new formation. After their own lands have been cleared they are open to the ravages of the pigs and buffaloes that inhabit the jungle still uncleared. Each man is



therefore more ready to persuade another to start work than begin himself, and the selection of tenants by the *khās mahāl* authorities, for all the southern end of South Hātiā belongs to Government, is a matter to be dealt with even more carefully than elsewhere, in order to ensure that no man is given settlement who has sufficient land already. Such a man will leave his plot untouched till all the surrounding plots have been cleared. Each new formation usually appears as an island separated from the next older ones by a channel which gradually becomes smaller. Burir Char and Jahājmārā are some distance from Chēngār Char and Tamaruddin. The *dons* as they are called between Chēngār Char and Māizchara (the southern part of Tamaruddin) and between the latter and the main Tamaruddin are rapidly getting smaller. In these *dons* which pass east and west the tide enters at both ends and fills the channels. When it has turned again the water flows out both ends again and every tide something is deposited, so that in the ordinary course they must necessarily be silted up quickly. The Bagulā Donā and the Nalchirā Donā still afford water communication further north from one side of the island to the other at high tide.

12. What was a small *don* like these as late even as 1880 opened as will be described later, and has now become the North Hātiā. Kalāiā channel nearly 3 miles wide separating Hātiā into two islands. South Hātiā is at present growing fast towards the south and at the same time North Hātiā towards the north. The latter extends as one block of land 14 miles further to the north-west than it did at the time of the Revenue Survey, 1865. The islands of Char Lawrence and Char Behari, until lately in Lakshmipur *thana*, the island forming Kalākopā, Porāgāchhā, Char Sitā, Char Bedamā and Char Basu until lately in Noakhali and Char Falcon and Char Jagabandhu transferred from Bakarganj, are now separated from Char Alexander which is part of the main island by a *don* easily fordable at low tide. The abovementioned *chars* form a continuous open plain of rice land. Homesteads are few and are collected close together, leaving stretches of miles of paddy fields without a break. Beyond the north-western corner a large new *char* has formed called Kālkinī. It is extending and improving fast, and it will not be long before it becomes fit for cultivation.

13. Besides the islands, sandbanks, which are high enough to appear at low tide, are perhaps fewer than might have been expected, for once it appears an island develops very quickly, but the water is shallow for miles out. Anyone who has used a launch to pass from island to island knows the difficulty of navigation. One has to go haphazard from point to point feeling one's way continually with the lead. None knows the way or could keep his knowledge up-to-date with the continual shifting of the shoals. There are no marks and no foundation upon which marks could be placed. The land is low, and one can easily go out of sight of it and still be groping one's way in 2 fathoms of water to meet a shoal at 1 fathom depth or less at any moment, with a 6-knot tide running all the time. Between the islands there is necessarily some traffic, but no fishing is done. No boat ever ventures out into the area south of the islands, nor does any seaman venture in from outside. For at least 20 miles outside the islands is forbidden ground. The 5-fathom line runs parallel to the coast at a distance of about 35 miles from the furthest land of Noakhali and Bakarganj. There appears to have been only one detailed nautical survey of the estuary, made by Commander Lloyd of the Royal Indian Marine in 1840. His chart shows no pockets as deep as 5 fathoms anywhere inside the line, and no continuous channels of any depth approaching 5 fathoms up into the mouth of the Meghnā. There are some points close to the islands at which the water is deep, for instance round the south-east corner of North Hātiā, and usually where a bank is being cut away there is a depth of 3 fathoms at least close against it.

14. No regular investigations have been made, but from what can be seen and from what boatmen say it appears that The tides. the tide makes first up the channel to the east of Sandwip, so that at the north-western corner the water sometimes makes an appreciable movement to the south before the tide up the west of the island

reaches it. There is a bore at all spring tides in the eastern channel, and after the two tides have met the bore continues along the coast in front of Noakhali town, dying away by the time the end of the channel between North Hātiā and the mainland is reached. There is sometimes a bore in the shallows east of Char Amānullā coming in from the south, and others pass into the mouths of the two Feni rivers. Everywhere the first rush of the tide is strong and often dangerous, especially at the two ends of the Kalāiā river between the two Hātiās. It is not, however, the flow tide but the ebb, especially in the months when the river is falling, October, November and December, that is responsible for the heaviest diluvion. Ferry boats and the few others that use these waters depend very much on the tide to get them from place to place. It is impossible for any but a steamer to make headway against it. Sails are used when wind and tide are the same way, and sails and oars are used when it is necessary to go diagonally across the stream, but when the tide is unfavourable a boatman will anchor or tie up to an island and wait for it to turn. Distances by boat are always spoken of by *mānjhis* (boatmen) in such terms as "two *joārs*" (flow tides) or "two *bhātās*" (ebb tides). With the tide surprising distances are covered in a short time. In a moderate sized *sāmpān* one day in May leaving Sandwip *ghāt* at the turn of the tide with a fair wind I reached the mouth of the Noakhali *khōl* in about 3½ hours, a distance of more than 30 miles as the crow flies.

### History of the changes in the configuration of the land.

15. The late Major Jack in his Settlement Report for the district of Bakarganj gave a brief summary of the changes which had taken place in the estuary during the last century and a half. In Appendix No. 4 of his Report he gave historical sketch maps showing the contours of the Bakarganj and Noakhali seaface and islands in 1764, 1864 and 1904, a conjectural sketch to show them as they may have been in 1730 and a forecast—he is a bold man who is prepared to make any forecast in such a matter—for 1950. On the Noakhali side there happen to be better *data* in the shape of surveys spaced more evenly across the span of years from Rennell's time to the present day than on the Bakarganj side, and it is possible by means of them to trace the history of the changes which have taken place with a high degree of completeness and accuracy.

16. Rennell compiled several maps on different scales and for different purposes which show parts of Noakhali. Either he himself or Richards, his assistant, who worked under his instructions, surveyed the mainland of Noakhali some time between 1767 and 1771. For the islands he used the marine surveys of Ritchie made in 1770 and 1771. Rennell's map that is most convenient to use for this part of Bengal is entitled "The southern part of Dacca and the low lands of Tippera with the islands in the mouth of the Ganges, surveyed by Rennell, Ritchie, Martin and Richards, 1764-1773. Scale 1 inch=5 miles". (Martin surveyed in the area west of the Meghnā.) In what is now Noakhali district the following places marked in the map afford fitting points, "Luckipore," "Chandergunge," "Santasheeta," "Binundpore," "Ramsunker" and "Sadilapore". One wishes that there had been similar fitting points available for use on the islands, for Ritchie's methods of survey\* were not such as to remove all doubt of the accuracy of his work. He used anchored boats and probably measured the distance between two by taking in one the time between the flash and the sound of a gun fired from the other. To use his own words "The distance and form of the land athwart the head of the Bay of Bengal was determined to form a chain of triangles to connect the islands of Sandwip and Sagar". That Hātiā is shown so far to the east is at first sight surprising; but, as I shall show later, there is independent evidence which proves that the Hātiā of 1819, except for accretions which were new at that time, has almost completely disappeared. Ritchie was a marine surveyor. He was not interested in mapping any points inside the coast line and this is why Rennell's map shows no place names on any of the islands round the coast of Bengal.

\* Surveys of Bengal by Major Rennell: Hirst 1917.



17. When it was decided that Noakhali should be made a separate district, one of the corollary conclusions reached at the same time was that a map of the coast and islands was absolutely necessary. A sea captain by the name of Blake was actually appointed in 1822, but he wanted to employ an assistant to do the actual survey and asked too much of Government, and the arrangement broke down. By 1830 all the shares of Parganā Sandwip, which covered Sandwip, Hātiā and Bāmni, that is, all the islands and a large piece of the coast of the mainland, had come into the hands of Government by revenue sale and revenue was to be settled by a detailed measurement. Concurrently with this measurement, to afford a check upon it and at the same time in order to obtain a reliable map, Captain Hodges was appointed to make a topographical survey in 1834. He mapped all the islands (omitting Dakshin Sāhabāzpur then in Noakhali district but now in Bakarganj) and the coast line from the Chittagong boundary westward almost to where the bank turns north and becomes definitely the bank of the Meghnā river and no longer the sea-face. His maps are on a 4-inch scale and, although there are no *data* available, his lines are quite capable of being relaid by means of the fitting points of the village boundaries which he mapped with those shown in the maps of the Revenue Survey (1864-65). Very rapid changes were taking place about that time among the islands, especially on the line between Sandwip and a point on the coast opposite Noakhali town, and by way of bringing Hodges' maps up to date Lieutenant Siddons who was engaged upon the Revenue Survey of Chittagong resurveyed the islands along this line and the piece of the coast opposite Noakhali in the season of 1839-40. In his case both *data* and maps are extant. In neither case were the surveys Revenue Surveys.

18. The Revenue Surveyor, Mr. R. B. Smart, started at the northern end of Tippera district in 1861-62 and finished what is now Tippera and Noakhali in 1864-65. In the season 1863-64 he surveyed what he had left of Tippera and more than half of the mainland of Noakhali and finished the next year, including Dakshin Sāhabāzpur. The latter had been surveyed by Kelso in 1847 primarily to settle the limits of the *pargana*. The Salt Department had for sixty years previously been relinquishing land as it became too high for salt manufacture and moving on to newer formations, and disputes had arisen over the ownership of what had been given up. Kelso's survey was rejected as a Revenue Survey, although he had surveyed the whole island on a 4-inch scale.

19. In 1881-82 Babu Parbati Charan Ray, the Superintendent of the Diara Survey, surveyed all the islands, the coast, the Big and Little Feni and the Dakatia rivers for a certain distance up their courses.

20. The Cadastral work of the present survey in the eastern half of the district was completed in 1914-15 and in the western half in 1915-16.

21. For the purpose of illustrating the geographical history of the district a comparative map was first prepared showing the lines of all these surveys in different colours and this was reproduced, but the changes that have taken place are so great and the lines are so many that this map was seen to be very difficult to follow. As an alternative the five smaller maps were prepared which appear as Appendix II of this report, showing the lines of each survey separately but on the same scale, with the same graticules and so set out that the changes from one survey to the next should be easily apparent. These five small maps are not sketches. They have been prepared from the comparative map originally drawn and not independently, and the graticules on all of them have been taken from it, for Rennell's own graticules are not accurately placed and Hodges and Siddons did not put in graticules. A sixth map appears on the same page. For it I am indebted to Mr. H. G. Reakes, Surveyor to the Port Commissioner of Calcutta. It shows the contour lines of the Marine Chart of Commander Lloyd, 1840, compared with those of Mr. Reakes himself mapped in 1916. The scale is different from the scale of the other five.

22. Rennell's map shows a line from Bhawāniganj to the Noakhali Khal which he marks "sea coast in 1730" and the area outside the line as low land. Upon what evidence he mapped the line and marked it is unknown, but the sign he used makes it appear that he was mapping an old high bank. Such a bank is not now visible on the spot, but the open spaces in the villages now lying south of the Noakhali-Bhawāniganj road, the slightly sandier soil and the smaller size of the gardens point to the conclusion that they are newer than the villages north of the road. The early correspondence of the Tippera Collectorate confirms it. The villages of Jagadānanda, Char Matuā,\* Char Mānasha\* and part of Char Bātā (with two agglomerations of small *taluks*, Tappa Aswadia and Chakla Ghoshbag, which the *zamindars* had recently annexed) formed the "Mukloot" (joint) lands of the Bhuluā proprietors which gave the early Collectors so much trouble. They had been added to the *pargana* since the settlement of 1728. Three Europeans at different times attempted to partition these lands—Mr. Meyer in 1785, Mr. Dandridge in 1790 and Mr. Thomson in 1792, and all failed to satisfy the proprietors. Mr. Barton, the Collector of Bhuluā, before the Collectors were recalled and the Provincial Councils formed in 1773, had gone into a dispute between the proprietors of Parganas Bhuluā and Gopālpur-Mirjānagar regarding Char Bātā then a new formation and had awarded half of it to each.

23. The river action which is most often mentioned in the Tippera correspondence towards the end of the 18th century is the diluvion going on in Pargana Jugidia situated at the mouth of the Little Feni river. The revenue of this *parganā* at the time of Akbar had been Rs. 12,802. It was Rs. 16,984 in 1728 and, according to Grant,† Rs. 17,737 in 1763. But it had been reduced to Rs. 9,400 in 1778 and there were heavy arrears. The proprietors were in confinement for arrears in 1790. The revenue was Rs. 6,061 in 1792 and the estate held *khās* as "no person will take it at a fixed jama for 8 years" (the span of the decennial settlement remaining) "on account of the annual encroachments of the sea of which no estimate can at present be made".‡ Ultimately, the permanent settlement was made at a revenue of Rs. 4,806 odd, but the next year, 1797, the Collector wrote:—"There is reason to fear that not a vestige of it will remain in a few years for the daily and rapid encroachments of the Fenny river"§. Almost immediately afterwards, however, *chars* began to form. Bāmni island had been growing northward as Jugidia was cut away. As early as 1791 there were disputes between the owners of Bhuluā and Sandwip over two *chars* to the north-west of Bāmni island, Char Magni and Char Jogini. The latter was decided to belong to Sandwip and the former to Bhuluā. Char Jogini is shown in Hodges' map and was roughly in the position of the present Kachhāpiā. About 1800 the channel between Jugidiā and Bāmni was getting very much smaller and in 1802 there were disputes regarding big *chars* that had formed between them, which lasted until 1819, when they were finally decided in favour of the Jugidia landlords.

24. Mr. Walters, who had charge of the islands for the cold weather of 1819-20 as Joint-Magistrate and made an enquiry into the disturbed conditions prevailing and the difficulties of police and magisterial jurisdiction, left a very interesting report attached to which there are sketch maps of Hātīā, Sandwip and Bāmni islands and much besides to indicate the shapes and positions of the islands in his day. His sketch map of Sandwip shows it very much the same as in Captain Hodges' map, except that the north-west side had not yet been hollowed out to make it the shape of a pear as Hodges shows it. Harishpur was rather more on the east side of the island than to-day and the villages named round the west and south have gone. The Dhupi Khāl

\* Those large Revenue Survey village units were divided up into several for the preparation of the present record-of-rights. The original Char Matuā included villages as far east as Noakhali town.

† Analysis of the Finances of Bengal, 1786, Appendix 4, Fifth Report.

‡ Collector of Tippera writing to the Board of Revenue, 9-4-1792.

§ Collector of Tippera writing to the Board, 24-6-1797.

and the Harishpur Khāl have not moved, but in the south-east Magdhara Char stood out perhaps rather further than in Hodges' time. Walters admits that he did not have time to go to Bāmni, but his sketch shows the island separated from the mainland by a comparatively narrow channel which was called the Machuā Donā, a name that has survived. The shape of Bāmni is much as in Hodges' map but without such a long toe going out to the south-east. Walters makes no mention of any Char Siddhi which must have formed after his time and very quickly. It is the Hātiā sketch that is the most interesting. Less than a quarter of Rennell's (or rather Ritchie's) Hātiā is overlapped by Hodges' Hātiā, and the change at first sight seems almost incredible. But Walters' sketch shows that an extraordinary amount of diluvion of the eastern side of Hātiā must have gone on between 1819 and 1836. The sketch shows the island a rough oblong, only a little longer from north to south than from east to west. In the north-western corner, which is somewhat further north than the north-eastern, is Manāipir which was the extremity of the island in Hodges' time. Along the western side are Char Afzāl, Char Lakshmi, Nilakhi and Kenjātālī, and Tepir Char in the south-western corner which is somewhat stretched out. Char Niāmat, Char Gosāin and Barakheri are new accretions to the west, separated by a *khāl* and still in Dakshin Sāhabāzpur *thana*. Char Sekandar, Char Hāssān Hosein, Char Algi and Char Gāzi are detached islands further west. Sāgardī is well over to the western side of the island and Harni on the southern face a little to the west of the middle of it. Nalchirā and Sukh Char are detached sand banks to the south and there are three others whose names have not survived to the present day. About half the island as it was in 1819 had gone before 1836, all east of a line from rather west of the middle of the northern face to rather east of the middle of the southern face. Walters gives at the end of his report a list of *chars* for which no settlement had at that time been made. They include Harni, Chāndnandi, Char Hāssān Hosein, Chitrakhālī, Tepir Char, Kenjātālī, Manāipir, Char Niāmat, Barakheri, Char Gosāin, Nilakhi, Char Afzāl Fakirā, Char Lakshmi and Char Khoāz, practically all the land which exists to this day. Earlier correspondence of the Tippera Collectorate shows that Hātiā was growing to the west. In 1794 there were disputes over Char Lakshmi and Nilakhi which were claimed by the Dakshin Sāhabāzpur landlords. Fourteen drons and 24 drons respectively of these two *chars* were measured in 1796 with a view to settlement, but no settlement was concluded although the right to the *chars* had been decided in favour of the Sandwip *zamindārs*. It must have been the fast diluvion of Hātiā that brought about the sales of the various shares of Sandwip Pargana for arrears of revenue in the third decade of the nineteenth century. Walters himself writes of Hātiā as having been very much diluviated before his time and his report\* removes entirely the suspicion that there may have been a large mistake made in Rennell's mapping of the island. Although its date comes towards the end of the span of years between Rennell's map and Hodges' map it goes a long way to bridging over that gap in the history.

25. From the evidence before us a comprehensive history on broad lines of the changes that have taken place between 1730 and the present day can be followed. Along the face of the mainland it has been a series of attacks and counter-attacks of land and sea. The coast line now is approximately back where it was in 1730, or will be within a few years if the present diluvion does not cease. The first thrust immediately after 1730 was from the land, along all the western half of the seaface. The water was pushed back a distance of 8 or 9 miles on a front of 18 miles. The advance opposite Noakhali up till 1770 was about 4 miles. The water attacked about the same time or rather later on the eastern half of the seaface at the mouths of the two Feni rivers. This attack reached its furthest advance in the year 1800, but behind it Bāmni island had been growing to the north, and when the attack spent itself it was quickly followed by Bāmni becoming joined to the mainland, or

Changes along the face of the mainland.

\* There appears to be only one copy extant. It is worth printing.

at least separated only by a narrow channel which did not need to be reckoned with further. The water's counter-attack had by 1836 regained most of the land which had formed on the western half of the sea-face, but the land had pushed forward a salient 10 miles deep and about 17 miles wide at the base, opposite or a little east of Noakhali, retaining however only a precarious hold on its gains. At the same time the toe of Bāmni at its south-east corner was thrust out, the waters of the two Feni rivers having united and turned in a direction parallel to the Chittagong coast. A spit of land with islands and sand banks at the end of it was pushed down the channel that lies to the east of Sandwip as far south as the northern end of Sandwip itself. In 1836 the effort of the land seems to have reached its maximum. This was a time of very rapid changes. Siddons' survey followed Hodges by only four years, but in that time it became certain that there would be no joining of Char Siddhi to the mainland as had been the case with Bāmni. Though the eastern face of the salient opposite Noakhali was driven in the land maintained itself almost as far out until the Revenue Survey, the furthest point was pushed a little west opposite Noakhali town and was as much as 12 miles south of it, and further west there were steady accretions. The furthest point was still on the same line in 1881, although driven a mile further back and the salient much sharpened. The accretions further west had not gained but rather the reverse, and the toe of Bāmni had been cut off. The years since 1881 have been years of defeat for the land. All along the west it has been steadily cut back. Opposite Noakhali not only has the salient been driven in and the sea advanced 11 miles practically to the line of 1730, but a concentrated attack has been made especially in the last few years at the weak point where the coast is broken by the mouth of the Noakhali Khāl. Since the survey of 1915-16 erosion at this point has been rapid, but the island, Chars Jabbar and Jubilee, is advancing fast behind the attack, and it seems hopeful that within the next few years there may be a repetition of what took place in 1800, when it was determined that Bāmni should become part of the mainland. The circumstances almost seem to form an exact parallel. The island is following up an attack of the sea at the mouth of a small river and seems to be following faster than the attack makes headway. Just as Char Māgni and Char Jogini began to form in 1791, north-west of Bāmni, in the attacking channel but to one side, away from the point of pressure on the mainland, so accretions are now forming some 5 or 6 miles east of Noakhali and reaching out towards the east end of Char Jubilee which is growing too. The case is not at all parallel to that of 1836 when Siddhi appeared likely to join into the mainland, for Siddhi was opposite a salient of the mainland not in a bay of erosion. The decision may come as quickly as it did in 1800, but it hardly seems that it can come before most of the town is diluviated.

26. The history of the struggle of the mainland to advance since 1730 has been one of alternate success and failure, but contrary to what might have been expected the land has gained nothing. At every point it has at some time or other in the two centuries reached out very much further than it reaches now. In 1770, in 1836, in 1864 and in 1881 the mainland area was considerably more than it is now. About 1836 it seems to have reached its maximum and it is now probably just about what it was two hundred years ago.

27. North-west of Bhawāniganj one is definitely on the Meghnā river and no longer on the face of the Delta. Since Rennell's time the Padmā and the Meghnā have joined their waters. From Chāndpur to its mouth the Meghnā formed an elongated S. Since the rivers joined, their tendency has been to form one wide curve instead of the double one, to double the wave-length of the oscillation as became a current of double the power. The stream of the Ganges has thrown the current against the eastern bank below the junction, and erosion has been, and still is, violent especially just south of Chāndpur. But further south the curve convex to the east, in the apex of which stood Lakshmipur, has been wiped out, and the S replaced by one

sweeping curve concave to the east from rather below Chāndpur to the sea. The change which brought the Padmā and the Meghnā together was certainly not catastrophic. There was a connecting channel north of Rājnagar in Rennell's time, and there was a continually increasing infiltration of the Ganges into the Meghnā making it gradually a bigger stream. The work which is still going on began before the permanent settlement when Gunānandi Pargana just south of Chāndpur had already begun to feel the diluvion. By 1794 there were extensive accretions just north-west of Lakshmipur and they seem to have increased steadily since, until, now, stretching out to Char Bairāgi and Char Abābil, two adjoining mauzas, one in Tippera and one in Noakhali—their depth is as much as ten miles.

28. Some time before Rennell's survey the turn to the west at the bottom of the S in the Meghnā had opened a passage between Dakshin Sāhabāzpur and Uttar Sāhabāzpur which are known to have been contiguous at the beginning of the 18th century. This it was that had rendered possible the large accretions to the Noakhali mainland near Bhawāniganj which in turn sheltered Hātiā as well as Sandwip from the main currents of the big river. The gradual junction of the Ganges and the Meghnā, as has been shown, tended to transform the S into a single curve towards the east. Moreover, not only was the volume of water in the Meghnā increased, but the volume in the Ariāl Khān river which supplied the Ilsā Channel diminished. The result of these circumstances was to make the eastern current for the time the dominant one. It cut away the accretions on the Noakhali coast and Hātiā stood directly in its path. It could not sweep it away immediately, and, in passing it by, took the channel to the east of it rather than the one to the west, for the former was more in the direct line of its strength. Hātiā was diluviated very fast on the east especially between 1819 and 1836, but under its own lee it was able to grow almost as rapidly on the west and south. The Sāhabāzpur river and the island of Dakshin Sāhabāzpur joined the march towards the west, the island taking advantage of the weakening force of the Ilsā river. This progress is the outstanding feature of the 19th century. As Major Jack shows in the Bakarganj Settlement Report, it has gone so far that the channel from the Meghnā into the Ilsā shows signs of closing up altogether and reuniting the two Sāhabāzpur Parganas. To the west the progress still continues. The Sāhabāzpur river is still moving towards the west, but a new development has appeared to the east. On a smaller scale in the Delta it very often happens that a channel which has increased in importance and widened itself for its own accommodation overgrows its strength, and, unable to fill the whole of the bed it has made, throws up sand banks in the middle and passes on either side. I have been describing the rivers as carving out their own destinies and the land as a passive agent, but in reality, as is obvious at this point, it is impossible to distinguish cause and effect. Almost as convincing and more imaginative a narrative could be written assuming the river the passive agent and flowing :—

The splitting of the eastern channel.

“Brimming and bright and large till sands begin  
To stem his watery march and dam his streams  
And split his currents; that for many a league  
The shorn and parcelled 'Meghnā' strains along  
Through beds of sand and matted rushy isles  
A foiled circuitous wanderer.”

But on the whole, as the dwellers in the delta know, the last description does not suit the river to their eyes. Having pared down Hātiā on one side and broken down the barrier from the projection in front of Noakhali town by Char Siddhi and Char Badu to Sandwip which seemed nearly complete in 1840, the eastern arm of the Meghnā had grown too wide. The two big islands formed by Char Jabbar and Char Jubilee and Char Amānullā, Char Bātā and Char Languliā appeared between 1890 and 1900 in its bed and the whole channel has for years been getting shallower. That the eastern channel will remain long divided now seems improbable. If Char Jabbar

does join the mainland the eastern channel will again be reduced to a size compatible with the volume of the current. If not, the Sāhabāzpur river may very probably become the main outlet of the Meghnā.

29. There had been a tendency long before Char Jabbar, etc., formed for the channel to shoal at about the same point.

The division of Hātiā.

At the time of the Revenue Survey Char Brikatchhu appeared where Char Amānullā now stands. It was never high enough for occupation and did not last long, but Tum Char to the west of it, although it was never under cultivation, lasted much longer. It only disappeared a few years ago, and it seems that it was the existence of this *char* that threw the current against the coast of Hātiā into the Kālāiā Dona which already existed and caused it to begin widening. This was a point of weakness, for Char Gāzi on the other side of the island had been separated from the main island by a wide *don* (channel) years after it formed.\* The old Hātiā Munsifi was diluviated in 1863, but this was by the big river. The second Munsifi with the *thana* at Nilakhi was diluviated by the Kālāiā river in 1895 by which time the separation of the two islands was complete. In this case again it would have been almost as plausible to describe Hātiā as having built itself out so far to the north and south that it gave way in the middle, but again it is better on the whole to write of the land as the passive agent.

30. Besides the progress of Hātiā towards the west the next remarkable feature of the history of the islands is the stability

Sandwip.

of Sandwip. It is known to have been in existence in the 16th century and a specially luxuriant spot, a fact from which it is to be concluded that it was not by any means a new island even then. In the last century and a half it has shifted practically not at all and it may very well stand now where it stood when Cesare Fedrico saw it. Sandwip may be looked upon as the embodiment of the persistent assertion by the Feni river to independence of the Meghnā and independent control of its own channel to the sea, that passing between Sandwip and the coast of Chittagong. But on the one hand the tide passing up the channel and unable to find space in which to spend its energy in the Feni estuary, and on the other hand the flow from the Meghnā when the tide is falling, keep a passage open between Sandwip and the mainland. This is a debatable area between water and

land. The channel up to date has always remained.

Between Sandwip and Bāmni. It widens itself, grows too wide and an island forms in the middle splitting it into two. One of these channels grows at the expense of the other until it is split in the same way. The process is continually going on. First Bāmni formed in the middle of the channel. The channel to the south became the dominant one and that to the north disappeared, uniting Bāmni to the mainland. Cutting away Bāmni it became too wide and Siddhi began to form about 1825. The southern channel when Siddhi formed was the wider, but the northern became the dominant one and was increasing in width very fast about 1835, while in the channel south of Char Siddhi, Char Badu appeared just before 1835 dividing it into two in its turn. Of these two the southern was dominant and cut deep into Sandwip leaving its mark in the shape of the old land of Parganā Niz Sandwip to this day, while Char Badu began to join Char Siddhi. But of the three channels that between Siddhi and Bāmni was still the dominant one and another island, Char Pirkaksha, appeared between Char Badu and Sandwip about 1860. Now both Char Siddhi and Char Badu are joined to Sandwip, but the northern channel has so widened itself that a new island, Char Lengtā, has formed (about 1910) between Siddhi and Bāmni, splitting the channel into two. It has already been decided which of these two is to be the dominant. Char Lengtā is already showing signs of diluvion on the south and Siddhi and Badu are still being diluviated, while Lengtā is growing on the north and new *chars* are forming against the mainland of Bāmni. We may look for Lengtā tending to be pushed towards the mainland and possibly joined to it, and the channel south of it to widen until in its turn an island forms to split it in two. The total width of the fairways between Sandwip

\* Vide Hodges' map.



and the mainland has been almost exactly the same at every survey (a little over 4 miles), despite the varying attention which the main force of the eastern channel of the Meghnā has paid to the gap, a circumstance which goes to show that it is the tide, the constant factor, and not the river current which has determined that the channel shall remain open. If it were not for the tide, the probabilities are that the Feni river would be, as independent of the Meghnā at its mouth as the Alabama river is of the Mississippi.

31. The two deltas in the world which are best known and about which most has been written, those of the Nile and the Mississippi, open into sea water little influenced by the tides. Complications enough enter into the growth of such deltas, but they are increased many times at the head of the Bay of Bengal. Both the Nile and the Mississippi are subject to an annual flood like the Meghnā, but, to put it into mathematical language, added to this one there are certainly two other periodic functions involved in the problem of the Meghnā. Every tide has some part in the history of the growth of the delta, and every moon brings spring tides which play a larger part. It may be that other periodic functions about which little is known, such for instance as those which are responsible for the change in the magnetic variation and govern the folding of the earth's crust, play a part, but history is not carried back far enough for their influence even to be guessed. In the deltas of the Nile and the Mississippi growth goes on at the point where the main waters of the river meet the salt water and the silt is precipitated. Except that the annual floods mark periods of activity and quiescence the growth is steady and local; but in the case of the Ganges the action of the tides moves the silt over such a wide area, and, interacting with the forces of the river, produces such apparently haphazard changes in the configuration of the lands, that the existence of any steady growth is obscured. The first result is that when the main stream enters the sea there is an estuary within the delta, and the second is that while off the deltas of the Mississippi and the Nile, the five fathoms line is only a few hundred yards from the furthest land, in the case of the Ganges it is 35 miles away. The great change higher up, the junction of the Meghnā and the Ganges, is not responsible for this in any way, although it has perhaps complicated the changes in the figure of the land at the river mouth so as the more completely to obscure any growth of the delta that may have taken place. In the last two centuries there has been very little indeed by way of extension of the land to show for the enormous volume of the silt which is brought down every year. The main land of Noakhali has advanced not at all, and though there has been considerable progress on the south of Hātīā and Dakshin Sāhabāzpur, the area of all the islands put together has increased very little. Along the western part of the delta face, too, from Midnapore district to Bakarganj, the progress since Rennell's time seems infinitesimal. The sixth little map appearing on the sheet in Appendix II gives the only evidence of steady and appreciable progress going on in the delta at the present time. This map shows the position of the five and ten fathoms lines at the time of Commander Lloyds' Marine Survey in 1840 and at the present day. From Saugor Island to the point directly opposite the mouth of the Meghnā the lines have moved very little indeed, but at this point the five fathoms line has advanced so as to include an area of some 500 square miles. Though the progress of the land itself does not show it, the growth of the delta has been going on steadily under the waters of the Bay.

### Communication.

32. Two lines of railway run into Noakhali district. The Assam-Bengal Railway main line from Chittagong crosses the Feni river into the southernmost corner of Thana Chhagalnāīā, goes up to Feni and straight on out of the district to Lāksām. It was opened in 1895. A branch line was constructed from

Lāksām to Noakhali and on to Shāhebghāta where the coast line was when the line was opened in 1903. The Company, however, failed and the line was taken over by the Assam-Bengal Railway Company in 1905. Both lines are single. The main line is well enough laid, but the Noakhali line and its train service should not be taken too seriously. The line is for the most part unmetalled; especially in the wet season the carriages, although the speed is so slow, rock from side to side in an alarming manner. Two trains pass each way daily, but neither is scheduled to do the 32 miles from Noakhali to Lāksām much under four hours. No engines are kept for shunting even at Chaumuhini, a big jute centre, and any shunting that has to be done is done while the passengers wait. The staff at the stations are underpaid and show very little consideration for passengers. One station master was a short time ago sent to jail. He gave the signal "line clear" but the key of the points had been lost and he did not know it till the train steamed into the station, missed them and ran into some waggons on the wrong line. On one occasion at least a railway official of the Traffic Department went along this line making some inspections in the stations and kept the train waiting at each station until he had done. No new projects for extending the railway system in the district have been set on foot. A line from Chāndpur Old Bazar down to Noakhali by Rāipur and Lakshmipur would serve a very populous and wealthy area and be very cheap to construct as so few bridges would be necessary and the land is high.

33. Compared with other districts in Eastern Bengal, Noakhali is very well off for roads. It has the great advantage of the absence of rivers intersecting the mainland, a circumstance which not only makes continuous communications by road possible, but renders roads the more necessary as communication by river cannot take their place. The soil has a peculiar quality which in combination with the climate maintains the surface of the roads, which are none of them metalled, peculiarly good even in spite of comparatively heavy cart traffic. The rain water, although it filters away very quickly, seems to lay down the particles of mud so as to form a hard laminated surface when it is dried. Rains begin early and end late so that there is no very long period of completely dry weather in which the roads are broken into dust. A few hours of sunshine after the heaviest rain brings the surface to its best, and it is then often as good for light wheeled traffic as on asphalt pavement.

34. The district had a start ahead of other Eastern Bengal districts by the existence of a certain number of roads before the beginning of the 19th century, which owed their construction to the East India Company. There was a company's factory at Lakshmipur before the acquisition of the "Diwāni", and all through the latter part of the 18th century it was second only to Dacca as a trading centre in Eastern Bengal. How important it was can be gauged from the fact that the budget estimate of expenditure to be met at Lakshmipur for the months March to December 1878 on behalf of the Company, mainly in purchase of cotton cloth, was Rs. 10,62,000. There were out-factories at Pāterhāt just within the borders of Tippera and Colinda (Kalyandi) rather more than half-way between Chaumuhini and Dāganbhuia. There was a French factory of Joogdya (Jugidia) the site of which was diluviated in the last decade of the century, but which stood somewhere very close to the present Basurhāt. Bhulua, 16 miles from Noakhali on the road to Lakshmipur, was the centre of the salt trade in the early days, but the salt agent moved to Noakhali some time before 1800. All these centres were connected by roads. That connecting Lakshmipur and Colinda was, as the Collector of Tippera's correspondence of 1791 shows, embanked and so was Mr. Leeke's road through Chhāgalnāi thana, the regular route between Comilla and Chittagong. With his letter of 26th August 1794 from which the last piece of information is obtained the Collector of Tippera forwarded to the Board a report from the Commercial Chief at Luckipore regarding the state of the roads radiating from the factory, but unfortunately no copy is to be found in the Tippera Collectorate, and the enclosure, like so many which were received with the early letters, was not kept in the office of the Board of Revenue.



Roads in Rennell's maps.

35. Rennell's plate which has been mentioned in paragraph 16 above shows the following roads:—

- (1) Luckipore\* to Monohargunge and Dowlatgunge (Lāksām).
- (2) Luckipore to Chundergunge Colinda and across the Little Fenney river to Cossidia Ammingunge and the Big Fenney river.
- (3) Luckipore to Bowānigunge Bulloah and Moncerhaut (Munshirhat).
- (4) A short cut from Bulloah to the Luckipore-Chundergunge Road along the line of the present Local Board Road from Bhuluā to Jackson's Hāt.
- (5) Chundergunge to Bazrah and on to Dowlatgunge.
- (6) Ramsunkar (just north of Noakhali town) to the Colinda Road through Kalcapoor.
- (7) Colinda to Dowlatgunge direct.
- (8) Ammingunge (in the south of Dandra) to Pansgutchy (Pānchgā-chhiā 3 miles west of Feni) and Chouddagong (Chauddagrām) in Tippera, and
- (9) Mr. Leeko's road through the length of Chhagalnāiā *thana*, north and south, and on to Chouddagong and Comilla.

36. The plate of the Ganges Delta inscribed to "Francis Russell, Esq., by his affectionate friend J. Rennell" shows the Luckipore-Bulloah Road going on to Santasheetā, Ramsunkar, Joogdya and Cossidia; Joogdya connected with Colinda, and Luckipore with Patta Haut; but does not show the roads from Luckipore to Bulloah through Bowānigunge, from Ramsunkar to the Colinda Road and from Buzra to Dowlatgunge. It is possible that Rennell whose main interest was in rivers may have made mistakes in marking some of the roads, but either he† or his assistant Richards actually went to nearly all the places marked on the mainland of Noakhali in either of the plates. It is probable that there were at least tracks along the line of most of the roads shown. The plates do not show which roads were embanked, but the following embanked roads of the present day seem to follow almost exactly the lines which Rennell shows:—

- (1) Lakshmipur, Begamganj, Dāganbhuiā and on a little towards Kuthirhāt.
- (2) Lakshmipur, Bhāwāniganj, Bhuluā and Sāntāsītā (east of this Rennell's road lies north of the present road).
- (3) From a little north of Noakhali Railway Station to Begamganj.
- (4) Part of the road from Noakhali to Basurhāt.
- (5) Part of the old road east and west through the south of the Feni *thana*.
- (6) Bhuluā to Jackson's Hāt.
- (7) Mr. Leeko's road through Chhagalnāiā.
- (8) Pānchgāchiā and Dewānganj to Chauddagrām.
- (9) Parts of the road from Luckipore to Rāipurā connecting at that time with Pāter Hāt and going right on as far as Matlab in Tippera.
- (10) Kalyandi to Senbāg.
- (11) Basurhāt to the Noakhali-Feni road.

There is now no sign of the road Rennell marks direct from Luckipore to Monohargunge nor from Chundergunge to Buzra. There is no continuation of the road from Colinda to the north much beyond Senbāg, but there are signs of it here and there. There are embankments just east of the Little Feni river, but they do not seem to follow the line of the road marked from Ammingunge to Pansgutchy. The places along this road were not visited by Rennell or Richards. What has been said is, however, enough to show that the general plan, upon which Noakhali is now intersected by roads, comes down from the third quarter of the eighteenth century, if not from an earlier date.

\* Rennell's spelling is used in this and the place names following.

† A little flag on the maps indicated places actually visited by Rennell or one of his assistants.

37. Little was done to improve means of communication at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Till the year 1819 In the 19th century and after. it seems to have been thought that it was the duty of the *zamindars* to maintain the roads through their estates, but they had given no undertaking to do anything of the sort, and the Resolution of the 20th November 1820 finally removed the doubt and formally absolved them from the liability to make any contribution or give any assistance in the matter. Very little was done until the proceeds of the Ferry Fund were placed in the hands of the Magistrate, and in 1855 only 70 miles of road were fit for cart traffic. The lack of bridges in the gaps in the old embankments was the main difficulty, but at the time of the Revenue Survey almost all the main roads of to-day were in existence and embanked. In 1872-73 there were 226 miles maintained, 562 miles in 1904 and 781 at present, but the latter includes 339 miles maintained by Local Boards, mainly footpaths not intended for cart traffic. Four hundred and thirty-seven miles are fit for cart traffic. The most important addition since the Revenue Survey on the mainland is the "Birendra Road" from Rāmganj to Sonāimuri with the continuation to Chattarpāiā Hāt, and among the islands, the extensions which have given thoroughfares throughout the length of each of the Hātiā islands. The mainland has been cut up into what a settlement *amin* would call "Morrabbas" by the District Board roads, and Local Board footpaths branch out from them in all directions. It remains only to continue the road beyond Chattarpāiā to the east, right through to the Little Feni river, where a bridge or ferry should link it up with the branch which already stretches out to meet it from a point some four miles from Feni on the Feni-Noakhali road in a direction a little north of west as far as the river. The Senbāg road produced a few miles to the north would meet this at right-angles. With this road built and made fit for cart traffic there would scarcely be a point upon the mainland within four or five miles of which carts could not go at all seasons of the year and conditions are similar in very few other parts of Bengal. Noakhali owes its advantage in this matter to four causes:—first the peculiarities of soil and rainfall which give embanked unmetalled roads such an excellent surface; second the absence of big rivers and low marshes; third the start which the Company's roads radiating from Lashmipur factory gave; and fourth the custom in the district by which cultivators convert their holdings into tenures. In drawing up the cess rolls under the Road Cess Act the Collector has always valued these at three times their rent, whereas if they had been mere *rāiyatis* the valuation for purposes of cess would have been only the annual rent and not a multiple of it. This has very much increased the cess payable by the *zamindars*. There is much improvement to be made in the existing roads by way of replacing tottering wooden bridges by iron ones or by brick arches. Owing to the war iron bridges have been and still are very expensive, but for such narrow waterways, as are required on most of the roads in Noakhali to let rain water through them, small brick culverts are probably quite sufficient. Several have been put in in the last three years and are likely to last without repair very much longer than any other form of bridge. The District Board has ample funds and the prospect of improved road communications in Noakhali, where they are already in pleasing contrast to communications in most other districts in the province, is good, provided the District Board restrains itself from diverting too much money from this purpose towards financing mushroom English schools which often do as much harm as good.

38. Although the mainland is not intersected by any rivers of importance, there are small *khāls* which are tidal and afford means of traffic by small boats for eight months of the year. Some of these were cut to supply earth to raise the roads, but most of them are of natural origin although they may have been deepened and improved by human agency. Among them some of the more important are :—

- (a) The Noakhali Khāl from the big river at Noakhali to Chaumuhini and Sonāimuri.
- (b) The Naodonā Khāl from Sonāimuri to Naodanā and on ultimately until it meets the Dākāitiā river in Tippera.

- (c) The Pratāpganj Khāl from Lakshmipur to Chandrāganj. (The Lakshmipur Khāl carries it on to the Meghnā and the *khāl* beside the Chandrāganj-Begamganj road although shallow carries it on to Chaumuhini.)
- (d) The Mahendrā Khāl and the Sāntasitā Khāl passing inland from the big river west of Noakhali, and the Chāprāssir Khāl east of it.
- (e) The Sankar Bakshir Khāl from Basurhāt to Chaumuhini.
- (f) The Machuā Donā, a short cut into the Little Feni from a point some miles west of its mouth.
- (g) The Sātbāriā and Kālidās Khāls from the Big Feni river into Feni Thana.
- (h) The Haripur Khāl from the *thana* headquarters of Sandwip to the sea.
- (i) The Nalchira Donā and the Bagula Donā across South Hātiā.

There are branch *khāls* which are very useful ones especially in Rāmganj and Begamganj, and the Little Feni or Siloniā river and the Muhuri river, although their courses are very sinuous, are also used.

39. The boats commonly used on the *khāls* are flat-bottomed, of the types known as *kundā* and *sārangā*—the former a big dugout, the latter built of planks. Small dugouts known as *dinghi* are very common too.

40. On the mainland few ferries are necessary as the small *khāls* on the roads are bridged. For their own purposes villagers often put up bamboo *shākas* across the *khāls* near their houses. They seem to have no difficulty in walking along a single bamboo six feet or more above the water, but the feat is beyond one who is not used to it especially when wearing shoes. At the mouth of the Noakhali Khāl and at Bāmni on the Little Feni to cross by the ferry except at high tide involves paddling in soft mud for a long distance to reach the boat.

41. The ferries between the islands are well patronized. The distances are so great that they can only go at long intervals sometimes not every day, and their goings and comings depend upon the tide. But everyone in the islands keeps the times of the tides always in his knowledge, and goes to the ferry *ghāt* at the time when he knows the tide is favourable to start. Since the war began the ferries have been more than ever used, as the steamer service has been cut down in order to supply vessels for Mesopotamia. The ferry boats are of the type called *Bālām*. They look the most awkward ramshackled contrivances in which to trust oneself for so perilous a journey as from Sandwip Ghāt to Sāgardi in South Hātiā; but in fact they are very light and seaworthy, and that they are so far from being rigid is really an advantage to them when caught in a heavy sea. They are built in Chittagong of planks the seams of which are caulked with bunches of straw soaked in *yab* juice and bound with cane. When not in use the fastenings can be undone and the planks stored in a very small space. The most important of the ferries are :—

Two from Kumāriā and Santoshpur on the east of Sandwip to the Chittagong coast.

Two from the northern end of Sandwip, one to Bāmni and one to Bānnu Bibi at the end of the road which comes into Noakhali through Jagadānanda. Sandwip Ghāt to Sāgardi in South Hātiā.

Noakhali to South Hātiā steamer station.

Eoāzbāliā (a little west of Noakhali) and Farāshganj (twelve miles west) to North Hātiā.

Between the two Hātiā islands and between Tamaruddin in South Hātiā and Manpurā.

42. There is little other traffic and very little fishing done between the islands. In Sandwip *Sāmpāns*, boats of the Arracanese type, are used, and occasionally boats come from Chittagong to Sandwip, to Lakshmipur or to Noakhali, in the betel trade, which are built in the style taught by Europeans, with a keel and rudder and fore and aft sails. These improve their capacities for navigation enormously and render them capable of sailing close to the wind. There were several European carpenters and boat builders at work in Chittagong as early as 1788 and their tradition has continued to this day. A few Chittagong and Arracanese brigs, although not as many as formerly, still find their way up into the Meghnā to Chāndpur and Nārāinganj.

43. There is a regular steamer service from Chittagong to Barisal which touches at Sandwip and passes through the Kālāiā channel between the two Hātiās, after touching at both, to Daulatkhan in Dakshin Sāhabāzpur, and another from Bhawāniganj to Barisal touching at Farāshganj and at Char Kādirā and Char Lawrence. This steamer is now finding it impossible to get along the coast to Farāshganj on account of the shallowness of the channel. Another steamer which used to make a circular trip between Noakhali, Sandwip and Hātiā has now been taken off.

## CHAPTER II.

### The People.

44. The total population of the district at the Census of 1911 was 13,02,090 persons. The figures showing its density in the Census tables are, however, somewhat misleading, owing to the fact that the area of the *thanas* which had been subject to much alluvion and diluvion were incorrectly given. The Traverse Survey of Noakhali began in the season 1913-14, that is less than three years after the Census was taken and the direction and approximate rate of diluvion during this time are known. It is, therefore, possible from the figures of the present survey to obtain a close approximation to the area in March 1911. The area of Thana Noakhali (with Companyganj) given in the Census tables at 309 square miles must have been just under 260, that of Lakshmipur given at 212 about 236, of Sandwip, given at 258, 185, of Hātiā, given at 185, 225, and of Feni, given at 212, 216. The total area of the district instead of 1,644 square miles was about 1,590. There had been no comprehensive survey of Noakhali for the Collector, who supplied the figures for area, to use later than the Revenue Survey. He could exclude the area of villages known to have been diluviated and include the areas of new formations which had been surveyed by him in assessing revenue upon *khās māhāl* and temporarily-settled estates, but he had no survey to guide him as to the area of accretions to private estates since the Diara Survey of 1881-82 or regarding villages which had been partly diluviated.

45. There has been a modification in the *thana* boundaries at one point since 1911. The islands which had joined up with North Hātiā have been transferred from Lakshmipur and Noakhali *thanas*, and Char Jagabandhu and Char Falcon have been transferred from Bakarganj to North Hatia. The village Census tables show that this involves a transfer of 561 persons from Lakshmipur and 421 from Noakhali to Hātiā, and an addition of 200 persons from Bakarganj. As the areas transferred were new formations, practically uninhabited, most of those enumerated must have been boatmen, cattleherds, etc., who happened to be on the *chars* at the time, rather than permanent inhabitants. The total population of each *thana* is very little affected, but areas are large, and therefore the density of population over the whole *thana* in each case is affected very considerably. The following table

gives the population and density in 1911, following the new *thana* boundaries and maintaining the figures for the mainland and islands separately :—

Units of area in 1918.		Area in 1911.	Population.	Number of persons per square mile in 1911.
Feni	...	216	202,271	936
Chhagalnāiā	...	131	138,292	1,056
Feni Subdivision		347	340,563	981
Begamganj	...	220	224,046	1,018
Rānganj	...	117	143,131	1,223
Lakshmipur	...	182	203,837	1,119
Companyganj	...	65	51,959	798
Noakhali omitting Char	Jabbar-			
Jubilee	...	139	142,178	1,023
The Mainland		1,070	1,105,724	1,033
Char Jabbar-Jubilee	...	40	237	5
Sandwip	...	185	119,652	647
North and South Hatia	...	295	76,787	260
The Islands		520	196,676	378
The District		1,590	1,302,290	802

This restatement of the distribution and density of the population in the district gives a far different impression of the facts of the case than the tables given in the Census Report or in the B Volume of the District Gazetteer (1914). The mainland of Noakhali is not to be placed with the districts of Bakarganj, Khulna and Chittagong apart from the districts in the middle of the delta which are fully developed and bear such a high density of population. Excluding the islands from consideration for the moment, in spite of the fact that there is only one little town of 7,000 inhabitants, there is a density of population over the mainland almost as great as in Dacca, rather greater than in Tippera and considerably greater than in any other district in Eastern Bengal. It is more than double the density in any rural district in Western Bengal and distinctly greater than in the most thickly-populated parts of Behar. New formations in the west of Rāipura, so far without many houses, have brought down the figures for Lakshmipur *thana*, but even without any allowance being made for these the conclusion, pointed to by the Census tables, that the rich belt along the coast is considerably less densely populated than the interior is completely contradicted. The figures for Companyganj *thana* have been considerably affected by the existence of wide stretches of uninhabited new formations about the mouth of the Little Feni river, but the whole *thana* is a newer formation than the rest of the mainland except the *chars* in the north-west of Lakshmipur, and the population is less dense than elsewhere. The peculiar density in Rānganj remains, but is not now so outstanding a feature as it appeared from the Gazetteer. It is due to the larger number of *bhadralok* families that inhabited the *thana*, the earning members of which employ themselves in Noakhali and elsewhere, in service or as professional men, while the old men, women and children and the inevitable drones belonging to such families remain at home. The old part of Sandwip is almost as thickly populated as the mainland, but the new formations and the rest of the islands are comparatively speaking very much less so.

46. The people of the mainland hold themselves aloof from the islanders.

The mainland and island populations distinct.

None on the mainland will give his daughter in marriage to a man who lives on the islands; nor, however poor he may be, has he yet shown himself willing to migrate to one of the new formations with his family and build himself a house there. There is very much of fear as well as conservatism behind this prejudice—fear of destruction by such a cyclone or storm wave as came in October 1876, fear of the actual crossing and the realization that, with the prejudice so strong as it is, the first to go

against it will be cutting themselves off altogether from their old associates. Other reasons are also given. Hindus especially, who live on the mainland, will not intermarry with those of Sandwip on account of the tradition of Dilāl Khān, the bandit chief who succeeded in this remote locality in breaking down caste barriers and marrying his subjects on crude eugenic principles, even Hindu with Muhammadan. Within the last ten or fifteen years inhabitants of the mainland have begun to take settlement of holdings in the new island formations close to the coast. But so far practically none of them have gone to live on the islands. They go over at seed time and harvest and stay just as long as is necessary for their work to be done and no longer. Even had they been of the island race most of the new formations are still too bare and exposed for them to have built permanent homesteads on them; but, whereas the islanders would retain all they could in their own possession, the landsmen sublet what they can, so long as they are able to get the high rents they demand.

47. So far, however, the mainland and the island races have kept aloof. The island race receives a few recruits for Bakarganj district, the mainland race has sent out a few emigrants to Hill Tippera, but otherwise there is very little immigration or emigration which affects the members of either. The increase in the total mass of each since the Census of 1872 is shown in the following table :—

	Mainland.	Islands.	Total
1872	687,473	141,163	828,636
1881	708,010	112,762	820,772
	increase 2·9 %	decrease 20·1 %	increase ·9 %
1891	859,336	150,357	1,009,693
	increase 21·4 %	increase 33·3 %	increase 23·0 %
1900	971,211	170,517	1,141,728
	increase 13·0 %	increase 13·4 %	increase 13·0 %
1911	1,105,724	196,676	1,302,290
	increase 13·8 %	increase 15·3 %	increase 14·0 %

There have been other cyclones and storm waves, but within recent times Noakhali has not suffered so severely in any other as in that of October 1876. That of June 1822 was felt more on the Bakarganj side of the Meghna, but that of 1876 most in Hātiā and Sandwip. The epidemic of cholera which followed was more destructive to human life than the cyclone itself. The tidal wave destroyed innumerable cattle whose dead bodies polluted the water in the tanks already spoiled by the salt water which had overtopped their banks, and between flood and pestilence as the Census figures of 1881 showed Hātiā lost a quarter of its inhabitants and Sandwip a sixth. On the mainland villages on the coast suffered in the flood, and the epidemic spread to villages which had not been reached by it. The years following were years of very rapid increase in the population; it was as much as 33·3 per cent. among the people of the islands and 21·4 per cent. among those of the mainland between the Census of 1881 and the Census of 1891. In the last two decades the increase has not been so phenomenal but has been up to the high average of Eastern Bengal. The point I would make in regard to the above table is that the present rate of increase in the mainland race is practically as fast as that of the island race. The latter has plenty of room to expand. That the former, which is already apparently so close packed, is not outpaced, is a striking proof of the prosperity of the mainland and indication that the pressure of the population on the soil is not yet by any means all that it can bear.

48. It is interesting to examine the increasing density of population in the several *thānās* during the period of progress since the cyclone of 1876. In 1881, 1891 and 1901 the Collector had not much better means of knowing what their areas were than in 1911. There is no means now of checking the figures in 1891 and 1901, but it happened that six months after the Census of 1881 the Diara Survey Party began work in Noakhali and finished their survey in the spring of 1882. Only the coast, the banks of the Dākatiā and the two Feni rivers for a short distance from their mouths and

Distribution and density of population in 1881.

the outlines of the islands were mapped, but by fitting the Diara Survey lines on the new maps the area in 1881 of each *thānā* touched by the river can be obtained. All the islands except those which formed near the seaface and soon afterwards joined on to the mainland (*i.e.*, all but those in the north-west corner of the district, which may be counted with the mainland) were in either Sandwip or Hātiā *thānā*, so that the figures for the population of the mainland and islands can be separated. The density of population in the several *thānās* in 1881 was as follows :—

Thana.	Area in 1881.	Population.	Number of persons per square mile.
Feni ...	205	132,697	647
Chhāgalnāiā ...	131	109,278	834
Feni Subdivision	336	241,975	720
Begamganj	220	128,933	586
Rāmganj	117	80,742	690
Lakshmipur	193	113,321	587
Companyganj	68	40,180	591
Noakhali ...	168	102,859	603
The Mainland	1,102	708,010	642
Sandwip ...	220	72,467	375
Hātiā ...	180	40,295	224
The Island ...	400	112,762	282
The District	1,502	820,772	546

An examination of this table with the table given in paragraph 45 shows that in 1881 there was as there is at present much the same even gravitation of the population all over the mainland. Then it was the eastern part of the district that was rather more densely populated than the western. Now the western has caught up the eastern and passed it. Chhāgalnāiā and Rāmganj were the centres of greatest density, the former much more conspicuous in this respect than now. The increase in density over the 30 years in the several *thānās* has been as follows :—

Thana.	Density, 1881.	Density, 1911.	Proportional increase per cent.
Feni ...	649	936	44
Chhāgalnāiā ...	834	1,056	26
Feni Subdivision	720	981	36
Begamganj ...	586	1,018	74
Rāmganj ...	690	1,223	77
Lakshmipur ...	587	1,065	81
Companyganj ...	591	798	35
Noakhali ...	603	1,027	70
The Mainland	642	1,034	61
Sandwip ...	375	647	73
Rest of Islands	224	227	1
The District	546	824	51

The advertisement of prosperity of the mainland is repeated in the above table, which shows also that it is more remarkable on the western side of the district than on the east. That in Rāmganj, where the density has been considerably greater than in Lakshmipur and Noakhali, although it is certainly not more fertile, the increase has been on the same enormous scale is a further indication that the limit to the pressure of the population on the soil has not by any means yet been reached on the west. The position in Chhāgalnāiā *thānā* is different. Emigration to Hill Tippera accounts in part for



the smaller increase, but this too has for its cause the heavy pressure of the population on the soil. At the mouth of the Little Feni river Thana Companyganj has been so cut about and so often remodelled that that alone is sufficient to account for the density of population being no more than 35 per cent. in 1911 above what it was in 1881. The increase in Sandwip has been on a par with that in the western part of the mainland. Sandwip has lost by diluvion, and many of its inhabitants who lost their homes in this way emigrated to Hātiā. There the increase in the indigenous population and the emigration from Sandwip to the other islands have barely been able to keep pace with the formation of new land. The low density of population on them in 1881, a quarter of that at present on the mainland, has not perceptibly increased. In the islands there is room for a very much larger population than they at present support, but so far there are no indications from the Census figures that the pressure on the mainland is likely soon to break down the landmen's prejudice against trusting themselves to live upon the islands.

49. There are no figures available to show what the population was earlier than 1872. The Revenue Surveyors counted the number of houses and assumed that there were five persons per house. The Census tables of 1822 show five persons to a house, but the fact that, while the Revenue Surveyors in 1863-65 counted only 61,576 houses, the Census enumerators counted more than twice as many shows that the one party and the other must have had different ideas of the meaning of "a house". The Revenue Surveyor's figures are therefore useless. On the assumption that population increased at the same rate in the early part of last century as in the three decades from 1881 to 1911 since the great cyclone, the population of the mainland in 1800 was about 270,000. The islands suffered from diluvion very much during the first half of the century, and it is unlikely that the population upon them in 1800 was as low as the 20,000, which a similar calculation gives for them. Traditionally, Sandwip was cleared and cultivated early; Dandra and Jugidia Parganās were colonized by soldiers put there to keep the marches against the inroads of *Maghs* and others by land; on the western side of the district the part of Bhulua inland and away from the danger of an attack from the sea was early colonized, while Amrabad Parganā covering the middle of the mainland was only created a *parganā* in B.S. 1141, when the jungle had begun to be cleared. At the time of the Permanent Settlement in their petitions for *Kharij* the tenants of Amrabad called themselves "Jungleboory Talookdars", and claimed that they and their immediate ancestors had cleared the *parganā* and brought the land under cultivation. Chhāgalnāiā was mostly under cultivation and yielding a high revenue in 1780. Its population lived shut in by hills and undisturbed by the alarms and excursions of the rulers in Dacca and Chittagong, the Arracanese and the pirates. The existence of two centres of population, one in the west and one in the east, remained till 1872, and there are signs of them remaining to this day.

50. Non-agriculturalists are only 22·2 per cent. of the population. Among them are 95,000, 7·3 per cent. of the whole, who were returned as labourers. These are not agricultural labourers, who were returned with the agriculturalists, but persons who find employment mainly in earthwork, digging tanks, repairing roads and the like, and distinguished from ordinary agricultural labourers, who will not "cut earth" to use their own expression. They consider such work beneath them.

Rent receivers are 28,000, 2·1 per cent.; beggars and prostitutes 21,500, 1·7 per cent., a high figure indicative of general prosperity; weavers 17,500, 1·3 per cent., and fishermen 13,000, 1·0 per cent. Other occupations account for less than one per cent. each.

The little use made of the big river is indicated by the small number of boatmen that were enumerated. Boatmen in Dacca district were 51,000, but only 3,559 in Noakhali, of whom most are employed on the small *khals* connecting Noakhali, Chaumuhini, Nāodonā, Rānganj, Lakshmipur and Hājiganj in Tippera. The extraordinary number of washermen, 9,672, of whom nearly 7,000 were returned as actual workers, is unaccountable. More workers in this employment were not enumerated in any other district in Bengal except



Midnapore. Only 734 persons were returned as actual workers in the business of money-lending, etc., and only 1,784 rent-receivers confessed to it as a subsidiary means of livelihood. Muhammadans as well as Hindus engage openly in it. It is only on such an occasion as the Census Enumeration that they show signs of being ashamed of the trade.

51. Agriculture supports 77·7 per cent. of the population directly and 2·4 per cent. indirectly, thus :—

Actual cultivators	...	980,946	or	75·6	per cent. of the whole population.
Field labourers, etc.	...	23,240	or	1·8	ditto ditto.
Herdsmen, etc.	...	2,281	or	·2	ditto ditto.
Raisers of stock	...	1,645	or	·1	ditto ditto.
Rent-receivers	...	28,206	or	2·1	ditto ditto.
And their agents, etc.	...	3,424	or	·3	ditto ditto.

Some of the smaller cultivators make most of their income working in the fields as labourers, but preferred to record themselves as cultivators, and only 2,548 of them mentioned as a subsidiary occupation that of agricultural labourers and 11,330 that of general labourers.

52. The correctness of the figures for the rent-receivers is open to question, for the definition accepted by the Landlords and their agents. Census Authority was not altogether satisfactory. Though the figures may not be correct absolutely, when the numbers of rent-receivers in different districts are being compared they will lead to reliable conclusions. In Noakhali, according to the Census, one man receives rent for every 34 who pay. The following shows how this compares with conditions in other parts of Bengal :—

In Chittagong there is one rent-receiver to	12	rent-payers.
In Dacca ditto ditto	21	ditto.
In Barisal ditto ditto	23	ditto.
In Faridpur ditto ditto	23	ditto.
In Mymensingh ditto ditto	48	ditto.
In Tippera ditto ditto	48	ditto.
In Rajshahi Division ditto ditto	58	ditto.
But in Burdwan Division ditto ditto	16	ditto only.
And in the Presidency Division ditto ditto	14	ditto do.

for the number of rent-receivers in Jessore and Khulna is very large indeed.

Where proprietary and middle interests are specially complicated or minutely subdivided, the number of agents it is necessary to employ as rent-collectors is greater than where the land system is simple and the interest of each landlord is extensive. Landlords do not in most parts of Bengal pay their agents a living wage, and even if they did, the agents would continue to supplement it by exactions from the tenants. When such exactions are easily obtained, men are found ready to accept the landlord's service for a merely nominal wage, and the number who are so employed increased in proportion as the tenants are incapable of defending themselves from such exactions and these persons are able to batten on them without difficulty. In Noakhali, landlords' agents are one to every 289 rent-payers, and the following statements show how the state of things compares with that prevailing elsewhere in Bengal :—

In Chittagong there is one landlord's agent to	201	rent-payers.
In Dacca ditto ditto	84	ditto.
In Bakarganj ditto ditto	99	ditto.
In Faridpur ditto ditto	150	ditto.
In Mymensingh ditto ditto	216	ditto.
In Tippera ditto ditto	287	ditto.
In Burdwan Division ditto ditto	124	ditto.
In the Presidency Division ditto ditto	88	ditto.
In Rajshahi Division ditto ditto	201	ditto.

It is not safe to conclude from these figures that landlords' agents, for instance in Dacca, are able to live on the tenants more easily than in Rajshahi, for the complication and minute division of landlords' interests in Dacca render more rent-collectors necessary than in Rajshahi. Other considerations, too, affect the case. In the 24-Parganas an increased number

of agents may be necessary, because the owners of many small middle interests are employed in Calcutta, who, if their property was in Eastern Bengal, might be expected to live on it and supervise the collection of their own rents. Bikrampur is in a similar position. But the number of landlords, agents in Noakhali is proportionally smaller than anywhere in the province, although the size of the average landlords' and middlemen's interests is not conspicuously large or peculiarly simple and conditions are not otherwise abnormal. This is a remarkable advertisement of the fact that Noakhali is a district where the tenants are very well able to look after themselves and where landlords' agents are not easily able to enrich themselves by illegitimate exactions from them.

53. In the district 77 per cent. of the population are Muhammadans and only 23 per cent. Hindus. The percentage of Hindus in the several *thānās* is as follows :—

Hindus.					
Feni	...	...	...	...	23·8
Chhāgalnāiā	...	...	...	...	33·2
Begamganj	...	...	...	...	24·0
Rāmganj	...	...	...	...	23·2
Lakshmipur	...	...	...	...	18·4
Noakhali (with Companyganj)	...	...	...	...	18·9
Sandwip	...	...	...	...	26·9
Hātiā	...	...	...	...	18·9

The high proportion of Hindus in Chhāgalnāiā is due to the numbers of *Kāyasthas* enumerated. The pretensions of many of them to the designation are at least doubtful. They are descended from servants brought in by such of the old *parganā Chaudhuries* as were Hindus. A separate enumeration for persons of this class was made in Eastern Bengal under the designation "*Sudras*," but those people are continually trying to get themselves recognised as *Kāyastha*. Probably some at least of those enumerated as *Kāyasthas* in Chhāgalnāiā are really descended from cultivators and are *Kaibarttas*. The *Kaibarttas*, more of them *Mahishya Kaibartta* or *Haluā Dās* (cultivators) than *Jālia Kaibartta* (fishermen), account for a large proportion in Sandwip and half the total number of Hindus in Hātiā. *Jugis* are most numerous in Begamganj, Feni, Chhāgalnāiā, Rāmganj, Lakshmipur and Noakhali *thānās* in that order, and *Namasudras* in Lakshmipur, Begamganj and Noakhali. Hindu *bhadrak* are most numerous in Rāmganj, but there is a sprinkling of them over the whole mainland and in Sandwip, although very few in Hātiā.

There were more than 5,000 of the following castes enumerated in the district in 1911 :—

<i>Jugis</i>	...	53,237	Only $\frac{1}{3}$ of them belonging to families who still do weaving.
<i>Kāyasthas</i>	...	52,299	A caste to which many aspire who are not properly speaking <i>bhadrak</i> .
<i>Kaibarttas</i>	...	36,857	25,146 <i>Mahishya Kaibarttas</i> and 11,711 <i>Jalia Kaibarttas</i> .
<i>Namasudras</i>	...	28,067	
<i>Dhopās</i>	...	21,267	A peculiarly high figure, especially as most of them returned themselves as employed in washing clothes and only 468 as having agriculture as a subsidiary occupation.
<i>Nāpits</i>	...	18,027	Again a high figure, but more than two-thirds are purely agriculturalists.
<i>Brāhmans</i>	...	14,398	Looked down upon by <i>Brahmans</i> west of the Meghna, as Noakhali is within the <i>Pāndab barjita desh</i> .
<i>Shāhās</i>	...	10,905	Not as numerous as in the Dacca Division and Tippera, but as usual a thrifty and prosperous community engaged as shopkeepers and in money-lending, and gradually becoming middlemen in the land system.
<i>Bāruis</i>	...	8,400	Keeping almost invariably to their caste occupation as growers and dealers in betel.
" <i>Sudras</i> " and	...	6,780	The designation was adopted in Eastern Bengal to describe the caste of domestic and personal servants.
<i>Sutradhars</i>	...	6,158	

*Kaibarttas*, *Namasudras* and the lower Hindu castes generally have shown proportionally greater increase in numbers than the higher castes during the last 4 decades.

54. The preponderance of Muhammadans has led to their encroachment upon what in other parts of Bengal are the monopolies of the Hindu functional castes. The Census enumerated only 1,695 *Goālās* in the district, and it is a common sight to see Muhammadans on *hāt* days taking milk and curds and selling them in the market. Muhammadans not only catch fish but sometimes they are to be seen selling fish in the markets. They own gardens specially laid out and used for growing arecanuts and are often dealers in this commodity. There are even a few instances, for example round Basurhāt, of Muhammadans who own *pānī barāj* (betel leaf conservatories).

55. In some parts of India, especially in big towns like Calcutta and Bombay, there are very obvious signs of the beginning of a relaxation of the rigid caste system among Hindus. There are signs, too, that the *purdah* system is beginning to break down and instances are becoming more common in which girls are being allowed to be educated and grow up before they are married. These are all signs of the advance of civilization. Among the Hindus of Noakhali district there are no such signs of progress. Formerly, in these parts marriages between *Baidyas* and *Kāyasthas* were not uncommon, but the practice has completely died out. Child marriages are the rule still, and, whether it is on account of the predominance of the Muhammadans and their remarkable progress in education and independence, or not, the Hindus appear more than ever to enforce the *purdah* system among their own families. Even in Noakhali town it is parents who are not natives of the district that send their girls to school. A Noakhali man is not prepared to allow his daughter to go to school and to pay the cost of her schooling. He is only willing to allow her to go to school up to the age 10, if the school is maintained by grants from Government and the District Board and a closed carriage belonging to the school fetches her in the morning and takes her back in the evening. Before her education has really commenced she is taken away and married. There is no relaxation among the higher castes in Noakhali of the custom which forbids widow's remarriage. Hindus, such as Government officers, from other parts, who have adopted a more modern manner of life, complain of the peculiar unkindness with which they are treated in Noakhali, because they have somewhat relaxed the strictness of the caste and *purdah* systems in their own families.

Other evidence that the people of Noakhali are very far down in the scale of natural civilization, as opposed to the artificial civilization which the prevalent system of education produces, is to be found in the extreme crudeness of the popular wooden figures of the gods *Jagannāth*, *Balarām* and *Subhadrā*, the roughness and awkward shapes of the brass work and pottery made and used, the clumsy and badly made boats which ply on the streams, the rectilinear outlines and gaudy attempts at ornamentation of such architecture as there is, the few and primitive attempts at music, the incapacity of anyone for any intelligible expression by means of drawing or painting and the universal indifference of all classes in such matters. In this country whose greatest charms are the beauties of its vegetation, the people see nothing of these things. Where everything grows in such profusion no man dreams of making himself a flower garden. The same criticism may be applied to some extent to other parts of Bengal, but most other districts have some crafts which show taste and good workmanship. Noakhali has none. The only common objects made locally and having any pretensions to beauty are the *tabiz*, little silver plaques containing charms against illness, which are made and worn by Muhammadans.

56. The Muhammadans form 77 per cent. of the population of the district. They are almost all *Sunnis* of the *Hanifi* school, and the majority of them at the time of the Census returned themselves as *Shekhs*. For the most part they are cultivators. Some of them have risen to become middlemen, *howlādārs* and *tālukdārs*, and a few even *zamindārs*, but they are all of the same stock.

There are very few old families or families with any pretensions to better blood than the cultivators. A visitor to Noakhali district from another part of Bengal cannot fail to notice at once what a large part religion plays in the behaviour of the people. The predominance of the Muhammadans in numbers by no means accounts for this. The Muhammadans are not quite the same race as the Muhammadans of other districts, but neither does that account for it. One cannot but feel that there is a revivalist movement actually progressing, and for this reason it will be well to give some account of it. I am indebted for my historical information on this subject mainly to Khan Sahib A. K. Kabiruddin Ahmed, Assistant Settlement Officer, who is a direct descendent of Dudu Mia, the *Farāzi* leader, whose name will be mentioned.

There is very little doubt that the bulk of the Muhammadans in Eastern Bengal are the descendants of converts from the lower Hindu castes with only a leaven of the original Muhammadan invaders. The physiognomy of the Noakhali Muhammadans indicates that the leaven was considerably greater here than elsewhere. Pointed features and deepset eyes are the rule. Few Muhammadans are met who, without their beards, would be taken for *Namasudras*. None of them affix to their names such appellations as *Mandal*, *Biswās*, *Parāmānik*, etc., which in other parts are used by Muhammadans and *Namasudras* alike. A common title among them is *Ghāzi*, a word which signifies one who has fought against the infidels. Their dialect contains more words of Persian and Arabic origin than in other parts. More of them have good Arabic proper names, and there are fewer of those names which have an Arabic ring about them, but no meaning. Tradition, moreover, states that the two *parganās*, Dandra and Jugidia, were military colonies, and there is every reason to believe that it is correct. Arab Traders certainly came into the Bay of Bengal and used to visit Chittagong. Contact with them may have had some influence on the Muhammadans of Noakhali.

57. At the beginning of the 19th century, when the followers of Rājā Rām Mohan Rāy founded the Brāhma Samāj, a great reformer—Moulana Sariatullā—began to preach a return to the simplicity of the early Muhammadan faith. He was born in 1765, in the district of Faridpur, ran away from home to Calcutta at the age of 15, and there studied Arabic for some time under a famous Moulānā, Basaratāli by name, after which he went to live with an uncle at Murshidābād. When he and his uncle were proceeding to visit the family home in Faridpur, the boat in which they were travelling was upset in the Ganges and all the occupants but the boy Sariatullā drowned. The shock seems to have determined him to devote his life to religion, and he went to Mecca with his former tutor—Basaratāli. There he studied eight years under the theologian, Shekh Muhammed Tāher Sambal, who belonged to the *Hānifi* school, and was formally recognized with the title of Moulānā Sariatullā āl Kādāri. He travelled in Palestine, Syria and Egypt, and returned to his home in 1800 in the garb of a *Suḥī Fakīr*, but his preachings did not make much impression on his countrymen, and his ill-success sent him wandering again. He went all over India, through Persia to Palestine and Mecca, where he made a long stay, and returned home again in 1818. This time his countrymen flocked to hear him, and he became the founder of the *Farāzi* sect, whose tenets were puritanical, who abjured music, dancing and anything which savoured of frivolity, and forbade such practice as sacrifice at the tombs of holy men, to the Hindu goddess *Kālī*, etc., which had become common. Before Sariatullā died, in 1838, the *Farāzi* teaching had spread over all the middle of Bengal, and had reached Tippera and Noakhali. He had been a man of peace. His son and successor as leader of the *Farāzis*, Ghazi Mohsānuddin Ahmad or Dudu Miān led the same simple honest life as his father, but got into trouble with the Hindu *zamindārs* and others. He forbade his followers to pay the customary *abwāls* taken by their landlords at *pujā* times, and the unrest which followed brought the sect into collision with the authorities. One oppressive landlord was done to death by a band headed by Dudu Miān, and he was imprisoned. Released at the time of the Mutiny, he died in Dacca in 1862.

58. Noakhali absorbed the *Farāzi* teaching, and there were very many converts to the sect, but here another doctrine, really differing from it very little, appeared and carried the wave of religious enthusiasm onwards. The *Wāhābi* movement was started by one Syed Ahmad, an Arab who left Mecca about 1820. The movement was another return to the original simple faith. The instructions of the Korān regarding the *Juma* (Friday) prayers and *Id* prayers are that they are to be read only in the presence of a representative of the King. The *Wāhābis* held that they could not be read in a country such as India, where the ruling power was not Muhammadan, and the movement took the form of a holy war. The leader was killed in an affray on the borders of the Panjāb against Kharāg Singh, one of the successors of Ranjit Singh. With him, at the time of his death, was the Moulānā Imāmuddin, a native of Sādullāpur in Noakhali, who returned to his home and began to preach the doctrine of a simple faith which his master had taught, but without inciting his hearers to a *jahād* (holy war). His tenets were not much different from those of the *Farāzis*. The main points he insisted on were the same purity and simplicity of faith and practice which the *Farāzi* leaders preached. His influence extended throughout Noakhali and most of Tippera. Very little detailed information is obtainable concerning him.

59. The Moulānā Kerāmatālī appeared on the scene much later. He was a native of Jāinpur, and his father, Vilāyat Ali, who had been a disciple of Syed Ahmad, brought him up in the *Wāhābi* tradition from his earliest youth. Later, he gave himself out as belonging to the "Reformed *Hānifi* School," and held that the reading of the *Juma* and *Id* prayers in this country was lawful. His preaching was greedily accepted in Noakhali, where he stayed several years and married. In 1870, when the lower class Muhammadan community in parts of Bengal was becoming excited by a recrudescence of the preaching of the original *Wāhābi* tenets, Moulānā Kerāmatālī gave an exposition of the law on the duty of Muhammadans in British India towards the ruling power, and this "*Fatwa*" had considerable effect in allaying the excitement. His son, the Moulānā Abdul Awāl, still comes periodically into the district, where crowds flock to hear him, and where he makes much profit, some of which is devoted to the establishment of *Māktabs* and *Madrāssas* (School of Arabic and Persian). The *Moulānās* have been looked up to with superstitious awe by their disciples. Many miracles of healing are said to have been worked with pots of water and handfuls of black cummin upon which the Moulānā Kerāmatālī had breathed. The Moulānā himself was an honest man, but many of those who heard him and followed him saw a way to make money by trading on the superstition of the poorer people. To-day there are large numbers of persons with a smattering of Arabic in the district, who are prepared to write a text on a plate with ink which is to be washed off and the water drunk by a sufferer from fever or some other complaint. Such is the credulity of the cultivators in religious matters that some of these persons (there are two families who practice them at Rāipurā for example) make large and regular incomes in such ways.

60. There can be no doubt that, though to deal honestly with one's neighbour is not a precept which is often given or followed among them, their religion is a very real thing to the Muhammadans of Noakhali. Prayers are most punctiliously said by all of them at the appointed times. They like nothing better than to hear the Korān read or listen to an abstruse disquisition on a religious subject. *Maulavis* and *Hāfez* are very numerous, almost every village of any size holds one or two *Hāzis*, and it is everyone's ambition as he gets old to see Mecca before he dies. Yet all the Settlement staff complained of the same thing, that the people have less honesty and less regard for the truth than they have found elsewhere. One Muhammadan Assistant Settlement Officer said that, though he had never seen it before in his experience, not once but several times in Noakhali he had instances in which two venerable Muhammadans in their own village before all their acquaintances had sworn the exact opposite on the Korān. At the same time it may be due to his religion that the Noakhali cultivator, contrary to the practice of the Bakarganj cultivator,

his neighbour across the Meghnā, very seldom resorts to violence. There was hardly a single riot over a land dispute connected with the Settlement during the whole of its progress. The first case of riot with murder which had led to a conviction in Noakhali for some years was one in which the fight was over an attempt to introduce the chanting of prayers in a village mosque, where they had been intoned only up to that time.

61. With the introduction of jute, the large profit to be made from betelnut, the extreme fertility of the soil and the rise in prices of late years, the Muhammadan cultivators are extraordinarily well off. Their life is a very easy one, they have little work to do, no anxieties about their crops, which never fail them, and no fear of their landlords, who are seldom so much stronger than themselves, as to be able to oppress them. The climate is never very hot and never cold, and there is no malaria. There is always sporadic cholera, specially in the drier part of the year, and skin diseases and worms are very common, but otherwise the cultivating classes appear to have a clean bill of health. On the whole they are a peaceful people. Their feuds take them at once to Court instead of bringing them to blows. They are quite incapable of settling their own disputes by means of arbitration at the hands of the chief men of the village, for they have none they can trust to arbitrate. The chief men in the village are not men who are looked up to on account of their character, age or parentage. Custom does not give any sort of authority to any of them. The most important men in the village are such because they are richer, cleverer and, above all, more unscrupulous than the others. If they are followed, it is out of fear and the knowledge what dangerous enemies they would make.

Among all classes there is a respect and desire for education. The number of schools in the district approaches 1,500. The majority of these are, of course, Lower Primary Schools, but in a district dependant entirely on agriculture it is Lower Primary Schools that are most needed. Primary education among the masses has far advanced and there is great enthusiasm for it. The tendency has often been to make those who have had it consider themselves above cultivating the soil, but it is now beginning to be too widespread for that, and there is no real danger of its interfering with agriculture. There are drones in every village who try to live at the expense of their neighbours and relatives upon what they can make by using to advantage their smattering of education, but in another generation or two almost everyone will have learnt something, and the opportunities of these parasites will be much less. Another generation or two will, it is hoped, make much more uncommon that very unpleasing object, the man who looks down upon his own father and considers himself, because he can just read and write, above leading the life his father led before him and devoting himself to agriculture, the only work he is fit to do. Secondary education also progresses and English Schools multiply, but the movement does not arouse the same sympathy in an outsider as the spread of primary education does, for the mainstay of the district must always be agriculture, and the people are not really fitted for anything else.

If the Noakhali Muhammadan can practise his religious observances undisturbed, has something periodically to wet his religious zeal, can have his children taught to read and write, and get his own recreation by attending the *hāt* (market place) when he feels inclined, he is happy. His crops never give him cause for much anxiety. The *hāts* are so much a feature of the countryside that they deserve something more than passing notice.

62. To a European the number of shops which are to be seen doing business continually appears very small indeed. Noakhali Bazar is a small one, those at Chauhini and Feni are very small indeed. Lakshmipur Bazar, though a busier one, is only about as large as that at Noakhali, and there are practically no others. Except in cotton cloth, salt and kerosine oil, there is very little retail distribution trade; for the cultivating classes themselves produce almost all that they require, and such traffic as takes place in the commodities which they exchange with one another is carried on without the intervention of a middleman at the *hāt*, which meets twice a week at each of the very numerous sites which have been set apart for the purpose all over the



district. At the *hāt* the middleman buys up such products as jute, betelnuts and chillis which will be exported. The journeyman with cloth, salt, kerosene or glass bangles, who may have a permanent shop at the place or may have come from his shop at another market-place to attend this *hāt* for the day, does the bulk of his trade. The cultivators buy and sell to one another rice, pulses and vegetables of which one may happen to have a surplus in his house and another may have run short. Besides monopolizing most of the trade which is done the *hāt* is a social institution. Owing to the strict adherence of all classes to the *purdāh* system, a villager does not visit his neighbours in their houses unless he is closely related to them, except on such an occasion as a marriage feast. The homesteads are scattered over the whole face of the countryside. There is no village street up which he can pass and expect to meet his acquaintances and hear the gossip of the neighbourhood. The *hāt* supplies to the men the opportunity of social intercourse which they would not otherwise have. The women have no such opportunity. Within three or four miles' walk from the home of any man on the mainland there will be found three or four or more *hātkholā*, meeting-places of *hāts*. They meet on different days of the week, Monday and Thursday one, Tuesday and Friday another and so on, and a man can if he wishes attend one of them every day.

The ordinary cultivator's land employs him only comparatively a few days in the year when he ploughs, sows and reaps his crops. While the crop is on the ground he has no more to do than look after his cattle which he generally leaves to the care of his children, grow his few vegetables and do petty repairs in his homestead. When there is nothing to be done in his fields he has his meal, as much rice as he can eat with a little curry to flavour it, at eleven o'clock, a pipe or two and perhaps a short sleep, and sets out about three o'clock to visit one of the *hāts* not far away, to return two hours after sunset. Generally, he takes something to sell. If he has no jute, chillis or betelnut to dispose of to a *bepārī* (small dealer), he will take with him in his basket perhaps a fine pumpkin which he would like others to see, or a duck or a couple of fowls. And he will certainly bring something back. He will meet his friends there, enquire the price of everything and hear all the local gossip. These are the things which interest him, which he does not hear if he stays at home. The Noakhali cultivator is ever ready with questions on such subjects. Enormous as is the amount of litigation that goes on, it is an altogether unwarranted exaggeration to say that it is the common man's recreation. It is the game which is played by those with a smattering of education and a péchant for the thing itself, touts and those unscrupulous persons who profit by it from their less astute neighbours. The *hāt* is the common man's recreation. The business that is done is done loudly but very slowly. There is no need to hurry, and it is a pleasure to enquire the price from several vendors and haggle over it as long as possible before completing a purchase.

63. In preparing *thana* jurisdiction maps in a scale of one inch to the mile for Noakhali on the basis of the village maps, much care has been taken to show the position of the important *hāts* by a cross with letters indicating upon what days of the week each meets. A cross with no letters on these maps indicates a daily *bāzār*. It is hoped that they will be the more useful maps for administrative purposes, for if any information in a matter of public interest is to be enquired or any is to be disseminated among the cultivating classes, it is at the *hāts* that it will be most easily and most satisfactorily done. These maps should also be the more useful to touring officers.

64. The ordinary country produce is brought and sold at every *hāt*, cattle usually only at those which are recognized cattle markets, and on one of the two days in the week on which those *hāts* meet. Such are Jagadānanda Hāt, a few miles east of Noakhali and Lemua Hāt, south of Feni. On one day, the *hāt* day before the Bakr Id, a very large cattle fair is held at Rāipurā. Other *hāts* are recognized centres for the sale of particular items, as, for example, Chattarpāiā east of Sonāimuri for *Kunda* boats, while others again are located in areas where particular crops are abundant

and are centres of the trade of collecting them. Such, for example, are Chaumuhini and Chandrāganj for jute, Sāntāsītā, Lakshmipur, Dālālbazar and Raipura for betelnut, Sonāpur in Rāmganj thana for cocoanuts, and Basurbāt. Rāipurā again and Hāidārganj in Shaestānagar for chillis. Feni Bāzār and Kāzir Hāt are the centres for fine mats made of *motra* a cane which grows in most of the homesteads thereabouts; Lakshmipur for *Khui*, the thin fibrous tissue which is taken from the fallen leaves of betelnut palms and Samir Munshir Hāt near Kalyandi for eggs for export to Burma.

65. Very many *hāts* in Noakhali bear the name of persons, Dāgan Bhuīā Hāt, Kārim Baksher Hāt, Samir Munshir Hāt, Kazir Hāt, Mazumdār Hāt, Sonā Ghāzir Hāt and so on, but more often than not the traditions of these persons, who were presumably their founders, are lost. In the case of a number of others this manner of nomenclature has crystallized into the form of a place name, for instance Begamganj, Chandragānj, Rajgānj, but in these cases also the *hāt* bears one name and the village in which it is situated another. It is generally supposed from this that the *hāts* appeared long after the villages became recognized units and the cultivation had been well established, but local inhabitants can usually give no information. If they have some story to repeat it is very unsafe to draw from it any conclusion as to how long the *hāt* has been established. The process of establishment of a new *hāt* may be seen to-day. Though those interested in old established *hāts* within reach offer violent opposition, especially if the same days of the week are chosen, a new *hāt* takes only a few years to be established if it really supplies a need.

When Lord Cornwallis came out to India in 1787 and the Court of Directors and Englishmen generally were imbibing the teachings of Adam Smith, freedom of trade, as well as security in land tenure, was a matter to which the Company's servants turned their attention. The *zamindars* were forbidden to exact dues from traders in the markets; Collectors were instructed to see that they did not do so, that none tried to create monopolies in particular articles and no one, especially no European, attempted to control any market for his own profit. At the same time landlords who paid part of their revenue on account of *sāir*, as it was called, dues from markets and traders, were to be allowed remission on that account. In Tippera district, as it was after 1787, including all the mainland of Noakhali, the Collector's correspondence in connection with *sāir* remissions shows that the number of *hāts* was very large. Excluding those in Parganās Bhulūā, Bardākhat and Gangamandal, the Collector mentions in a letter of January 1791 no less than 135 *hāts* regarding which he made enquiries. Some of the *hāts* that are the most important to-day, *e. g.*, Rājganj, Chandrāganj, Lemua, Fakir Hāt, Amtali, Chattarpāiā (at first difficult to recognize by the Collector's spelling Sautherpyah), and, now decaying in importance, Begamganj and Pānchgā-chhiā, were reported to have existed before 1765. *Sāir* deductions to the amount of Rs. 500 were given for Chattarpāiā, Rs. 365 for Lemua (spelt Limbooh) and Rs. 225 for Rājganj. It is only comparatively few names in the list that are immediately recognizable as the names of the *hāts* of to-day, but the large number shows very clearly that though new *hāts* have often taken the place of the old ones, the *hāt* habit is not one to which the Noakhali cultivators have taken only in recent years. A large number of those mentioned by the Collector he found to have been established after the acquisition of the *Diwāni* by the Company in 1765, and no *sāir* remission was, therefore, to be given on account of them, for the Company since taking the revenue into its own hands had imposed no new *sāir* assessments. It may well have been that a new era of comparative peace and good order in the country in the last part of the century had fostered the establishment of new markets.

### CHAPTER III.

#### The Employment of the Land and Agriculture.

66. Certain areas of Noakhali have not been brought within the District Settlement Operation, as a satisfactory record-of-rights had already been prepared for them. Although the bulk of the statistics given in Appendices A and B were

Extent of the cultivated area.



ascertained during the seasons 1914-15 and 1915-16, there have been incorporated with them figures ascertained at certain earlier dates, when the records-of-rights for the excluded areas were prepared. Where these areas were subject to fluvial action they have sometimes decreased and sometimes increased so that the total area of the district, according to the table, differs somewhat from the estimate of the total area of the district ascertained from the new record-of-rights and the outline surveys of the excluded areas which were made at the same time.\* The latter estimate is 1,568, whereas the table following gives a total of 1,593 square miles. The table below shows *thana* by *thana* for the district the proportion of the total area which is cultivated, cultivable but not cultivated, and unculturable.

	Square miles.	Percentage of total area.		
		Cultivated.	Culturable.	Unculturable.
Chhāgalnāiā ...	140	66	4	30
Feni ...	210	76	5	19
Companyganj ...	63	61	3	36
Begamganj ...	219	81	2	17
Rāmganj ...	117	78	2	20
Lakshmipur ...	196	84	1	15
Noakhali, excluding Char Jubilee.	123	79	5	16
The Mainland ...	1,068	77	3	20
Char Jabbar and Char Jubilee ...	43	24	31	45
Sandwip ...	187	67	8	25
North Hātiā ...	123	62	18	20
South Hātiā ...	172	54	21	25
The Islands ...	525	58	16	26
The Whole District ...	1,593	70	8	22

The total figures include no large rivers, no rivers in fact but the small streams and *khāls* that intersect the mainland and the islands. On the mainland a considerable area of new formation in Companyganj *thana* is overflooded with salt water when the tides are high and is not yet fit for the plough, and in Chhāgalnāiā *thana* the fringes of the hills and the little outliers of them are covered with jungle. Otherwise, the amount of cultivated land, which for the purpose of these statistics has been taken to include betelnut and cocoanut gardens, is very uniformly about 80 per cent. of the whole area. On the islands the extent of the new formations, culturable but not yet cultivated and unculturable, reduces the cultivated area to a much lower proportion. But cultivation is extending over them very rapidly.

67. The area cultivable but not little, especially when it is considered that nearly half of it is kept for growing thatching grass and reeds. Thatching grass is grown deliberately by the cultivators and might well have been considered a crop. Many plots of thatching grass had been ploughed up as corrugated iron came into more general use, but the enormous increase in its price owing to the war has renewed the demand for thatching grass, and there must be many cultivators who regret having ploughed up their lands which used to grow it. It is not a growth that can be re-established at short notice. The 35 square miles of land cultivable but not cultivated on the mainland lie as follows :—

- 29 per cent. is old fallow.
- 6 per cent. new fallow.
- 14 per cent. bamboos.
- 42 per cent. thatching grass and reeds.
- 9 per cent. miscellaneous.

The 87 square miles on the islands lie :—

- 30 per cent. old fallow—most of it has never yet been cultivated.
- 4 per cent. new fallow.
- 5 per cent. thatching grass.
- 61 per cent. miscellaneous—in this is included land fit for cultivation but covered with jungle.

\* Vide paragraph 185.

The unculturable area.

68. The details of the 213 square miles of unculturable area on the mainland are as follows :—

25 per cent. is homestead, etc.—the actual plinths of the houses and the courtyards.  
28 per cent. tanks and ditches.  
14 per cent. streams.  
19 per cent. unculturable waste.  
8 per cent. roads and paths.  
6 per cent. miscellaneous.

The details of the 133 square miles on the islands are :—

7 per cent. homestead.  
8 per cent. tanks and ditches.  
13 per cent. streams.  
65 per cent. unculturable waste, mostly sand.  
5 per cent. roads and paths.  
2 per cent. miscellaneous.

69. It is interesting to compare the proportions of the whole area cultivated, culturable and unculturable with those found in other districts. This is done in the following table :—

				Proportion of total area.		
				Cultivated.	Culturable.	Unculturable.
Noakhali Mainland	...	...	...	77	3	20
Noakhali Islands	...	...	...	58	16	26
Bakarganj	...	...	...	70	12	18
Faridpur	...	...	...	80	8	12
Rajshahi	...	...	...	75	12	13

7½ per cent. of the whole area of the district, unoccupied area in Sundarbans, is omitted from this analysis.

Except in the undeveloped parts of Bengal the land which is culturable but uncultivated is usually comparatively highland, especially that of which the soil is inclined to be porous. When it is not required for a homestead and does not get and retain enough water to ensure a satisfactory rice crop it is not considered worth cultivating. In Noakhali, with its heavy rainfall and soil so impregnated with vegetable matter, almost all such land can profitably be turned into a garden of betel and cocoanut palms. That the unculturable area in the mainland in Noakhali appears comparatively great is due to the fact that Noakhali people depend entirely on their tanks for their water-supply. No attempts are made to dig wells, but every homestead has its own tank and there are besides many old tanks, some of them very large indeed. In other days, when labour was cheap, or cost the great landlords nothing at all, it seems to have been the ambition and the pride of everyone of them to dig a great tank by which to hand down his name to posterity. The biggest in the district is Bijay Singh's Dighi near Feni, but there are others almost as large. Whereas in Faridpur it was found that tanks occupied only rather more than one-sixth as much as homestead sites, in Noakhali the area of the tanks is considerably greater than the area of homesteads.

70. No comprehensive figures are available relative to the employment of the land before the time of the Revenue Survey which in Noakhali came very late, 1863-65. Earlier measurements of the land in occupation were made in various estates, for instance by Dandridge in Parganā Bhulūā in 1792, by Rawlins in 1788, and Dampier in 1836 in Parganā Sandwip, but they did not distinguish cultivated land from waste land claimed by the tenants, and the shapes of the mainland and the islands have been so continually carved and remoulded by the river and the sea that it is not possible to estimate the total area with which they dealt.

The Revenue Survey figures may be relied upon, but, in comparing them with the figures of the present day, allowance has to be made for the fact that

the Revenue Surveyors included palm gardens adjoining homesteads in the area of the homestead sites. Transferring the figures for the area of such gardens (or orchards) in the statistics of the present day so as to include them with the area of the homesteads, the Revenue Survey figures and the present day figures may be analysed and contrasted as follows :—

		PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL AREA COMPRISING—				
		Fields cultivated or fit for cultivation.	Homestead and orchard.	Tanks, rivers and roads.	Jungle and sand.	Miscellaneous.
The Mainland, 1863-65	...	68	11	8	13	...
Ditto 1914-16	...	71	14	10	4	1
The Islands, 1863-65	...	50	4	7	39	...
Ditto 1914-16	...	66	4	8	22*	...

\* The jungle covered in South Hātiā shown as fit for cultivation in previous tables is here shown as jungle.

The sand and jungle on the mainland in 1863-65 were least in Chhāgal-nāiā, about 5 per cent., and in Rāmgānj less than 1 per cent. Those, as has been noticed elsewhere in this report, are two old centres of dense population. They were most in the *chars* since washed away in Noakhali *thana* south of the town. In these days or rather later these *chars* were favourite ground for pigsticking. Sandwip *thana* in those days covered almost the same area as Hātiā, but it contained 50 per cent. more waste land, most of which probably lay in Char Siddhi which has now nearly disappeared and in Char Badulakshmi then almost untouched by cultivation and larger than it is now. While reading the above figures it may be remembered that the disappearance of waste land which they show on the mainland has been assisted by the sea which has washed away the area which contained more waste than any other. The same has happened in Sandwip, but there the old part of the island on the south too has suffered diluvion. In Hātiā the area that has been diluviated has been some of the oldest portion.

### Agrioulture.

71. One coming from a district in the centre north or west of Bengal to Noakhali cannot help noticing that he never finds jute stubble on the fields in the cold weather. In Noakhali early rain enables the cultivator to get his jute or *aus* paddy sown early. He leaves it on the ground until it is quite ready and then, after reaping and disposing of it in his homestead, prepares the same land and transplants seedlings of winter rice, trusting to the certainty of sufficient rain in the end of September and in October to make a good crop of it. It never fails him. This with the luxuriance of his garden is the key to his peculiar prosperity. The rainfall is the determining factor. It is 113·65 inches a year on an average taken over the whole district, highest on the coast and on the islands, and, inland, higher on the east than on the west. At Noakhali town where the average fall is 121·39 inches it is distributed over the several months of the year as follows :—

Inches.			Inches.		
January	...	40	July	...	24·31
February	...	1·06	August	...	26·61
March	...	2·98	September	...	16·86
April	...	5·01	October	...	7·60
May	...	11·07	November	...	1·64
June	...	23·37	December	...	6·48

It is the rain that comes in the months of March, April and May and again in September and October upon which Noakhali depends for its peculiar advantage. The following figures show the rainfall in these five months in

Noakhali, Rajshahi (to take a district in the middle of Bengal), Faridpur and Bakarganj (to take districts much nearer) :—

**Inches of rainfall in**

—			March.	April.	May.	September.	October.
Noakhali	...	...	2·98	5·01	11·07	16·86	7·60
Rajshahi	...	...	0·97	1·63	5·74	9·98	3·52
Faridpur	...	...	2·21	4·13	8·31	8·75	4·38
Bakarganj	...	...	1·64	3·27	8·58	11·35	6·38

Noakhali has the advantage over Rajshahi in both spring and autumn. The Faridpur cultivator gets storm showers in the spring which enable him to get his *aus* and jute sown early, but the rain fails him in September and October if his winter crop is transplanted late. Bakarganj on the average approaches nearest to Noakhali's position of advantage, but in the south of the district the spring rains are short and in the north the autumn rains.

72. The resultant advantage shows itself very plainly in the statistical tables to be found in Appendices A and B. The following is an analysis taken from them :—

Thana.			PERCENTAGE OF CULTIVATED AREA EXCLUDING ORCHARDS FOUND TO BEAR—				Total of these percentages.
			Summer Crops.	Winter Crops.	Spring Crops.	Miscellaneous.	
Feni	...	...	50	90	18	3	161
Chhāgalnāiā	...	...	50	80	9	1	140
Companyganj	...	...	48	95	26	1	170
Beganganj	...	...	32	91	7	...	130
Rānganj	...	...	45	94	4	...	143
Lakshmipur	...	...	47	92	15	1	155
Noakhali excluding Char Jabbar and Char Jubilee	...	...	47	94	19	...	160
Total Mainland	...	...	45	90	14	1	150
Char Jabbar and Char Jubilee	...	...	...	99	1	...	100
Sandwip	...	...	4	100	9	5	118
North Hātiā	...	...	11	93	13	2	119
South Hātiā	...	...	5	96	13	6	120
The Islands	...	...	6	96	10	5	113
The District	...	...	33	92	14	1	140

The figures for Chhāgalnāiā are more than 20 years old. They were compiled at the time of the settlement of Chakla Roshnābād. It is probable that cultivation has become more intensive since that time. Moreover, the District Survey was made in the two seasons following the outbreak of the war when the sudden fall in the price of jute had very much discouraged the growth of it. In collecting such figures as these crop statistics, it is always more likely for a mistake to have been made by omitting to enter a particular crop as grown in a particular field than for a crop to be entered which was not grown. On these three considerations it may safely be said that the area sown in each season is ordinarily slightly more rather than less than the statistics show. They show that on the mainland 90 per cent. and on the islands 96 per cent. of the cultivated land grows a winter crop, *aman* rice; that, though there is not much on the islands, on the mainland the summer crop, jute and *aus* rice, is able to be grown to cover half as much area as the winter crop; and that the spring crop, although there is little of it, is not altogether negligible. On the mainland, besides one crop grown on the whole cultivated area, another crop

is taken from an area half as much within the same year. The contrast with Rajshahi, Faridpur and Bakarganj districts shows as follows :—

	PERCENTAGE OF CULTIVATED AREA EXCLUDING ORCHARDS FOUND TO BEAR—				Total of these percentages.
	Summer Crops	Winter Crops.	Spring Crops.	Miscellaneous.	
Noakhali mainland ...	45	90	14	1	150
Noakhali islands ...	6	96	10	...	113
Rajshahi ..	64	29	24	1	118
Faridpur ...	36	72	24	1	133
Bakarganj ...	11	95	7	...	113

The Rajshahi cultivator fails altogether to get a summer crop and a winter crop off the same land, and for a second crop has recourse to mustard, linseed, pulses, etc., that are ready to harvest in the spring. These crops are far less profitable to the cultivator than jute and rice. The Bakarganj cultivator pins his faith on his winter rice and does not allow experiments with summer crops to interfere with its chances. In this he is followed by the Noakhali islander. No doubt, the pressure of the population, comparatively light in both localities, combined with questions of convenience, plays a part in determining the policy. The method of the Faridpur cultivator is the same as that of the cultivator on the Noakhali mainland but, whereas the Noakhali cultivator gets a summer crop from 45 per cent. of the cultivated area and can still plant 90 per cent. with winter rice, the Faridpur cultivator has to sacrifice much of his winter rice crop, so that it covers only 72 per cent. of the cultivated area, to put 36 per cent. of it under summer crops. The latter grows a considerably larger *rabi* (spring) crop, but it is a poor recompense. The value of an acre of *kheshari* or *musuri*, the biggest of Faridpur *rabi* crops, is not one-half that of an acre of rice in Noakhali.

Crops grown in Noakhali.

73. The crops grown in the district are shown in the following statement :—

Name of crop—cereals—and pulses.	Area of crop.	Percentage of net cropped area.	Name of crop.	Area of crop.	Percentage of net cropped area.
	Acres.			Acres.	
<i>Food grains—</i>			<i>Fibres—</i>		
<i>Aman</i> ...	601,434	92·4	Hemp ...	99	...
<i>Aus</i> ...	190,413	29·2	Jute ...	28,082	4·0
<i>Boro</i> ...	60	...	Others ...	3	...
Barley ...	3	...			
<i>Kheshari</i> ( <i>Lathyrus sativus</i> )	34,190	5·2	Total ...	28,184	
<i>Musuri</i> ( <i>Ervum lens</i> ) ...	2,88	·3			
<i>Mung</i> ...	3,547	·5	<i>Other crops—</i>		
Gram ...	89	...	Condiments and spices	23,334	3·5
Other food grains ...	13,011	2	Sugarcane ...	752	·1
Total ...	844,835		Tobacco ...	8	...
			Fodder crops	2,609	·4
<i>Oil seeds—</i>			<i>Pān</i> (betel leaf) ...	692	·1
Linseed ...	4,917	·7	Potato ...	385	...
<i>Til</i> (gingelly) ...	353	...	Miscellaneous fodder	2,698	·4
Mustard ...	576	...	crop.		
Others ...	697	...	Miscellaneous non-	20	...
Total ...	6,543		fodder crop.		
			Total ...	910,058	

Total net cropped area 650,540 acres

74. Rice is by far the most important crop grown in the district. 92·4 per cent. of the net cropped area is covered by winter rice and 29·2 per cent. by summer rice. Although not all the methods described in the Settlement Reports of Chākla Roshnābād, of Chittagong and of Bakarganj are applied in Noakhali, such

as are in use are applied without any modification in detail, and it is unnecessary to repeat the description of them. The statement of the writer of the *Ain-i-Akbari* that "if a single grain of each kind of rice were collected they would fill a large vase" is a picturesque exaggeration, and in Noakhali the number of different varieties of *aus* and *aman* distinguished by different names does not seem to be quite so many as in other districts — a fact which may be due to the fashion not having been spread to the district of employing labourers from outside the district to do the reaping. Still the number is considerable. Some varieties are known to all, but many seem indistinguishable except to the cultivator, and it seems probable that the same variety having accommodated itself to varying conditions in different parts is differently called. *Aus* is never transplanted, for transplantation must be made in a few inches of water when the seedlings have reached a certain stage in their growth, and this is not to be counted upon in April or May. A few cultivators round Basurbhāt sow *aus* in drills, a manner which I have never seen employed anywhere else, but there seems to be no particular point in doing so. Whether *aus* is to be grown at all and whether *aman* is transplanted or sown broadcast are mainly questions of the level of the land. It may be said that ordinarily transplantation is resorted to wherever the water in the fields at the time of transplanting is not likely to be more than about nine inches. Where it is, probable that there will be more, *aman* is sown broadcast before the fields go under water. The *aus* paddy grown is all short stemmed. In land too low for transplanting paddy after *aus* is cut, if there is not likely to be more than two feet or so of water at the end of July, *aus* may be grown. If it is, it will be sown along with the *aman* broadcast in March. The *aus* will be cut at the end of July and the *aman* in December. Where there will be more water in July only *aman* is sown, and often only *aman* is sown where the two might be grown together. The Noakhali cultivator transplants his winter rice wherever he can do so. It is a well-established fact that, when paddy is transplanted, not only is there a rather heavier crop than when it is sown broadcast, but the rice is of better quality. It does not need the investigations of the Agricultural Department nor the publicity which it attempts to give to the results of them to convince the Noakhali cultivator of this. There is, moreover, another very important consideration which weighs with the Noakhali cultivator and the cultivator in such other localities as Noakhali where the favourable rainfall enables a winter crop of *aman* to be grown after the summer crop of *aus* or jute. While the seedlings are in the nursery they take up very little space and the fields can be occupied with another crop while they are growing. The ground is always wet at the time and it takes only a few days after the summer crop has been removed to plough and make ready the fields for transplanting. The extreme hardiness of the seedlings is remarkable. Bundles of them are taken to market, bought by cultivators who carry them home for the night, and the next day carried down to a boat and ferried to the island *chars* to be transplanted across considerable distances, which against the monsoon wind may take two or three tides to cover. It is the rule to sow *aman* broadcast in Beganganj and Rāmganj *thanas*, in the lower parts of Lakshmipur and in the north-west of Feni *thana*, but there are all over this area many localities which are exceptions to the rule. In Chhāgalnāi, Companyanj, Noakhali and the rest of Feni and Lakshmipur *thanas* transplantation is the rule, and exceptions to this rule are on the whole fewer than exceptions to the other. Conditions are somewhat different upon the islands. Except on the older formations *aus* is not grown. This is more a matter of convenience than the necessity of the crops. The new formations are generally uninhabited and in the rainy season there is no place to thresh and store the paddy. In the dry season when the *aman* is cut a threshing floor (*khola*) is prepared among the fields; there the paddy is threshed and from there usually it is sold to merchants (*beparis*) who take it away by boat. So in the new formations the *aman* crop is not kept back for the sake of any summer crop. *Rājshāil*, the variety always grown, is transplanted and reaped a month earlier than on the mainland. The work, especially the reaping, is done by labourers from the mainland at a time when on the mainland there is little work to be done. At the time of transplanting on the islands the *aus* and jute on the mainland

are not yet out but are too high to require weeding and at the time of reaping on them the *aman* crop on the mainland is not yet ready to be cut. For transplanting the owner of a field usually takes only some of his neighbours to transplant with him, but for reaping a regular stream of men from the interior of the district go down to Char Kādīra by steamer or ferry-boat, and part of it on to Rāmgati by foot and over to South Hātiā. These men are back in time to cut their own paddy at home. Some go as far as Dakshin Sāhabāzpur and a few even to the *thanas* in the south-east of the Bakarganj mainland.

75. Of late years there has been very little damage to the crops of the islands from abnormal floods. The spring tides at certain times in the rainy season rise very high but their visitation is only for a few hours, and most of the islands are so high that very little damage is caused. There has been no repetition since of the disastrous storm wave of 1876. In the northern part of Begamganj the *aman* crop is sometimes attacked by Ufra. This disease never touches the *aus* crop and has not yet appeared anywhere near the coast. The water hyacinth which is spreading so fast in Eastern Bengal does not trouble Noakhali as much as districts where the level of the land is lower and streams more frequent, but in places which are lower than others it does some damage. There are insect pests such as those called *Kālāgāndī*, *Kātāmanjorā*, *Barmagolā* and *Serai* and rats but otherwise the rice crop has comparatively few enemies. Only Chhāgalnāiā *thana* is liable to floods, when rain is excessive in the low hills, from which the Muhuri river carries off the drainage. Both in 1915 and 1916 the *aman* crop there suffered great damage. The floods seem to have been made worse by embankments which had been made to hold in water in the dry weather to help the *boro* paddy crop. (The growing of *boro* in parts of Chhāgalnāiā has been started, although not extensively, since the Roshnābād Settlement the statistics of which showed only 60 acres of *boro* in the *thana*.) Rice, particularly certain long-stemmed varieties, can keep its head above steadily rising floods till the stalks of the plants have grown to surprising lengths, but if the flood comes suddenly, as the floods of hill streams generally do, and completely submerges the plant it cannot grow as it does so long as its head is above water. Paddy may live under water for ten days or so, but, if the flood does not subside within that time, it is totally lost. Most of the Chhāgalnāiā paddy is not of the long-stemmed variety, for normally the water does not rise high on the fields. In their extremity, after losing their main crop two seasons running, the Sub-divisional Officer at the suggestion of Mr. Prance, the Collector, tried to introduce the extensive growth of *rabi* crops among the Chhāgalnāiā cultivators. But these are far less valuable and can never take the place of the *aman* crop although they may effectively supplement it when it is short. There were complaints of famine in other parts of the district in July and August of 1915 and certain relief measures were taken, but the reports were very much exaggerated. There was in reality no shortage of food whatsoever; but the price of jute had fallen suddenly the year before; money-lenders who had made advances to cultivators on the crop had lost and were not prepared to make advances again. The famine was a money famine. If any felt the pinch of real want it was only the beggars who found charity less easily than usual.

76. Jute has been very recently introduced into Noakhali district. Little was grown in Eastern Bengal until 1870 except on the Meghna *chars* near Narainganj and Chandpur, and the Narainganj cultivators only took to the crop in the first decade of the present century. The Collector's figures for the area under jute from 1900 to 1918 are as follows:—

	Acres.		Acres.		Acres.
1900	1,900	1907	29,500	1914	69,500
1901	7,000	1908	31,000	1915	26,900
1902	2,100	1909	29,000	1916	27,075
1903	4,600	1910	29,000	1917	32,520
1904	6,100	1911	30,800	1918	30,000*
1905	4,200	1912	26,000		
1906	10,400	1913	48,400		

\* Preliminary figures.



77. The Settlement figure for the area under jute is 28,081 acres. This represents the jute area in the year 1915 in Begamganj, Feni, Noakhali, Companyganj and Sandwip *thanas* and in the year 1916 in Lakshmipur, Rāmganj and the two Hātiās, with figures for small detached areas, excluded from the Settlement Operation, taken from statistics prepared in previous years since 1905. The figure for Chhāgalnāiā *thana* is as old as 1896 when there were only five acres of jute grown in the whole *thana*. Jute has not, however, penetrated to Chhāgalnāiā and the jute there in 1915 or 1916 was not enough to make any appreciable difference in the total figure. The Collector's figures from the manner of their

Compared with the figures of "jute forecast".

preparation, though they may give a very fair impression of the relative extent of the crop from one year to the next, cannot be expected to give the total area in any one year with any degree of accuracy. For the purpose of the jute trade such an impression is all that is ordinarily necessary, for the whole of one year's crop finds its way into the market some months before the next year's crop begins to come in. The trade, therefore, has its own figures for the whole season's yield, and, however inaccurate the actual area shown in the "jute forecast" may be, if the proportionate increase or decrease from the year before is roughly correct, the forecast is all that the trade requires. It is only since the war began and a certain quantity of jute was held up by the cultivators in their homesteads for a whole season that the case was a little modified. That the difference between the Collector's figures for 1915 and 1916 and the Settlement figures is not more is perhaps as much coincidence as an advertisement of accuracy of the former.

The distribution of the jute crop according to settlement figures over the several *thanas* is as follows :—

Distribution over the several <i>thanas</i> .				Acres.
	Feni	Chhāgalnāiā	Companyganj	
	...	...	...	471
	...	...	...	132
	...	...	...	95
	...	...	...	12,728
	...	...	...	3,050
	...	...	...	8,556
	Noakhali excluding Char Jabbar and Char Jubilee.			2,872
	The Mainland			27,904
	Char Jabbar and Char Jubilee			...
	Sandwip	...	...	145
	North Hātiā	...	...	17
	South Hātiā	...	...	15
	The Islands			177
	Total			28,081

The figures for Begamganj, Rāmganj and the part of Noakhali on the mainland do not include the earlier figure for any excluded area, for there was none. There were excluded areas in Lakshmipur *thana*, but they were not in the portion of the *thana* where jute is extensively grown.

The impetus which has spread jute cultivation has come from the merchants who have been helped by the construction of the Noakhali Branch Railway. Much more jute is grown close round Chaumuhini, Chandraganj, and Sonāimuri, where jute firms, European and Indian, have purchasing agencies, than further afield. In much of the mainland, Chhāgalnāiā, all of Feni *thana* except the north-west, Companyganj and parts of Lakshmipur there is practically none. Nor is there any grown on the islands. Where it has been introduced, the eagerness with which it has been taken up is accounted for by the fact that the Noakhali cultivator, who is affluent, never knows the pinch of famine (except sometimes in Chhāgalnāiā *thana*). is very improvident, and loves litigation, has welcomed the introduction of a crop that can immediately be turned into ready money. In the areas where extensive betelnut gardens or the chilli crop already supplied a sure cash income, jute was not welcomed so eagerly. In Chhāgalnāiā *thana* the following

causes operate against the introduction of jute. The soil contains less vegetable matter than to the west and does not suit jute so well; it becomes very hard at the end of the dry season and cannot easily be broken up as fine as it should be broken before jute is sown; and while the pressure of the population on the soil is heavier than in the west of the district, heavy rain in the hills may bring down a sudden disastrous flood. The cultivator's first thought is for his food crops. He grows *aman* and *aus* where he can and dares not allow jute to replace *aus* in case he may lose his *aman* crop. Feni is only waiting for encouragement from outside. On the islands jute has been tried but is not very successful because so much of the water-supply as is not required for human use in *khāls*, etc., is salt and unfit for steeping the jute.

78. In the years 1913 and 1914 the area under jute was very much higher than it had been before. The fall in the price in August 1914 reduced the area sown the next year, but the cultivators were not as hard hit by it as might have been expected, for the large profit from jute had not become an established item in their domestic economy as in other districts where the crop had been grown extensively for many years. Middlemen who found it difficult to realize their rents showed some discontent at the high profits which were made by the mills, and did not appreciate that it was for the finished articles manufactured from jute that the demand was great, while difficulties of exporting the raw material had reduced the demand for raw jute. Even when the price is not more than Rs. 5 per maund the profit from growing jute is quite as much to the cultivator as the profit from any other crop he can grow on the same land at the same season. The expense and profit from cultivating an acre of jute may be analysed as follows :—

			Rs	A.
Ploughing	...	Three ploughs for half a day		
		eight times at 6 annas	9	0
Seed	...	.....	2	0
Weeding	...	Eight men at 8 annas for the day		
		four times	16	0
Cutting and steeping		Twelve men for the day at		
		6 annas	4	8
Stripping	...	Twenty men for the day at		
		6 annas	7	8
Total expense			39	0
Produce	...	Twenty maunds at Rs. 5 * per		
		maund	100	0
Profit			61	0

If the grower is an ordinary Muhammadan *raiya* he uses his own ploughs or supplements their work with assistance from his neighbours, whom he repays with the use of his plough when their fields in turn are to be prepared for sowing. He uses seed which he has saved over from a little bunch of selected plants which he kept for seed last year. He hires labour for weeding and has to pay 8 annas a day at that season, although the ordinary wages are 6 annas. But he usually manages most of the cutting and stripping with the help of his family and exchange of labour with his neighbours. Most of the price of his produce, therefore, is an asset in the domestic budget. At the time of cutting and stripping the price of such labour as may have to be hired is kept down by the fact that children and old women can strip the jute as well as and almost as fast as men. The outturn is often 25 maunds the acre in Noakhali and 20 maunds is certainly not above average. The jute which fetched Rs. 5 per maund in 1917 fetched Rs. 9 or Rs. 10 in 1913 when the profit instead of being only Rs. 61 per acre was over Rs. 150.

79. The quality of Noakhali jute is not good. Both varieties, *corchorus capsularis* and *corchorus olitorius* are grown, but the cultivator usually prefers quantity to quality and selects to keep for seed the plants which have grown highest. The climate

\* Since these figures were worked out there has been such a rise in the price of jute that it has begun to approach nearly to the price before the war and the market appears to show signs that it will not fall again for the present.

is such as to encourage the plants to run to a great height, and the cultivator is inclined to cut the crop too soon in order to have the land ready for his winter crop. The result is that the top of the plant is often not ripe when it is cut and when the fibre comes into the market it is found that the top part is brittle. The lower part of a very long jute plant is thick and heavy. Often it has not become sufficiently soft in the ten to fifteen days' steeping that is allowed, and, when it comes to market, at the thick end the fibre is not clean. If the plant had been steeped longer the rest might have been spoiled. Careless stripping is also a cause of the poor quality. Noakhali jute falls almost entirely into what the jute merchants class as "fours"\* and "rejections". Only a very little is "threes".

80. The *rabi* (spring) crops of Noakhali are unimportant. No doubt, they could be grown much more extensively, but the cultivator does very well without them. The value of the crop is not tempting enough to a man who can get such rice and jute crops with so little labour. He does not feel inclined to plough his land two or three times when it is caked to its hardest for the sake of the few rupees that such crops as pulses, linseed, gingelly and mustard will bring in. The winter rice crop is taken in late, and there would not be time after it to put down wheat or barley in time for it to ripen before the rain in March and April which would spoil it. Wheat is unknown and only 3 acres of barley were found in the whole district. The Muhammadans grow a few onions close to their homestead for their own use and a little linseed, gingelly, mustard, *musuri* and *mung* for the same purpose. If for any reason a piece of fairly high land was not planted with winter rice it is ploughed in November and mustard or linseed is sown. The most extensive *rabi* crop is *kheshari*. The seed is usually thrown down among the stubble without any ploughing when the winter rice has just been cut and the ground is still wet. Cattle are allowed to eat the crop off the ground in February and March when the grass on the sides of paths and roads—cultivation leaves practically nothing for grazing purposes alone—is dried up and fodder is scarce. On the open *char* lands, where the winter rice, *rajshail*, is taken in a month earlier than on the old lands and there is no summer crop, a *rabi* crop might have been expected to be found, but each man's land is far away from his homestead and cattle are turned loose on the *chars* as soon as the paddy is cut to find their food of stubble and grass. The few who might sow *rabi* crops would only be doing so to feed their neighbours' cattle, for the cattle go untended except at intervals, and the *rabi* crops are not valuable enough in such a rich district to be thought worth guarding.

81. Vegetables such as sweet potatoes, country radishes, tomatoes (European), brinjal, gourds, pumpkins and melons of various sorts and cucumbers are grown to a small extent by many cultivators. The creepers are allowed to trail over the roofs of their houses by the poorer people. Those who are little better off raise a bamboo trellis work for them some three feet off the ground. Among the vegetables should be reckoned chillis, although they are in parts a regular field crop. The crop accounts for nearly all the 23,384 acres found to be growing condiments and spices. Chillis require a great deal of attention in cultivation, but when they grow well form an exceedingly valuable crop and one for which there is a ready sale for export purposes. Most cultivators, it may be said, grow a few plants in the "*palan*" (vegetable patch), attached to the homestead, but in some places large areas are given up to the crop. It does best on the light soil in the higher parts of the older accretions to the mainland, and the two areas where it is commonest are Companyganj *thana* with the south-east corner of Noakhali *thana*, and the north-western corner of the district. A good deal is grown, too, in the older part of the South Hātīā island. The seed is sown on wet ground in October and the seedlings, which can also be purchased, transplanted some 16 inches apart when they are about 4 inches high about the beginning of December, on land which has

\* When a bale is classed as "threes" it means that the bailer guarantees that it contains 70 per cent. of clean jute which can be used at once by the mills; when he classes it as "fours" it means he guarantees that 50 per cent. is clean jute.

been ploughed and harrowed as many as six times. The surface between the plants is broken up and the weeds taken out some five times before the end of April. Plucking is done several times at fortnightly intervals between the beginning of March and the middle of June, generally by old women, and the chillis are well dried on a mat in the sun before they are taken to market to be disposed of. An acre yields as much as 10 or 12 maunds which can be sold at Rs. 10 a maund. Quite as much of the crop is exported as consumed in the district. The usual sequence of crops is that chillis follow *rājshāil* paddy which is grown again after the chilli plants are taken up.

Although only a little over one square mile in the district is occupied by *pan baraj*, the peculiar conservatories in which betel-leaf, betel-leaves are grown, that area is not an inconsiderable one when it is remembered how intensive is the cultivation, what an expenditure of care and labour it involves and how great is the profit. An account of the method used by those whose occupation is to grow this crop, nearly all Barais, a Hindu caste low in the social scale, which devotes itself mainly to the work and to dealing in betel-nut, is given in the final Settlement Report for Bakarganj. The account cannot well be improved except to make mention of the method of bending the vine-like creeper back on itself when it has grown as high as the reed roof which shelters it, so that a few inches of the stem can be buried in the earth. The creeper takes root again at this place and its stem can grow up again until the roof is reached once more. The method of growing this crop is probably of very great antiquity. David Paterson who is mentioned again later in this report gave an account of the method in use in his day, 1789, which tallies exactly with that in use to-day. He estimated the value of an acre of *pan* then to be Rs. 450 a year. Now it is quite Rs. 1,500, so that the small area 692 acres in the district devoted to *pan* represents the not inconsiderable annual value of more than ten lakhs of rupees.

82. Mention has already been made of the luxuriance and extent of the betel-nut (areca) and cocoanut gardens especially in the belt of high land that stretches round the coast from Noakhali town to the north-west corner of the district. Next to the rice crop and far ahead of the jute crop the wealth of the district lies in the produce of these gardens. The area which they cover in the several *thanas* is as follows :—

				Area in acres.	Percentage of total area.
Chhāgalnāiā	...	...	...	880	1
Feni	...	...	...	5,886	4
Companyganj	...	...	...	1,731	4
Begamganj	...	...	...	11,247	8
Lakshmipur	...	...	...	21,864	17
Rāmganj	...	...	...	11,079	15
Noakhali excluding Char Jubilee	Char	Jabbar	and Char	9,072	11
The Mainland				61,759	9
Char Jabbar and Char Jubilee	...	...	...	...	...
Sandwip	...	...	...	4,309	4
North Hātīā	...	...	...	1,149	1
South Hātīā	...	...	...	2,200	2
The Islands				7,658	2
The District				68,417	6.1

On the mainland there are no less than 96½ square miles and no less than 34 square miles in Lakshmipur *thana* alone.

Cocoanut palms are planted more or less haphazard round the homesteads in the western part of the district, but betel-nut palms (the Bengali

name is *supari*) are planted regularly in rows four feet or so apart. The method of preparation of a garden has been described in detail by the late Major Jack in his Settlement Report of Bakarganj. In Noakhali the method is the same. There also is described the manner of gathering the nuts and preparing them for the market, and the description need not be repeated here. No count was made in this district of the number of trees, but a rough estimate of their number may be obtained, for the plantations show the same regular arrangement everywhere. Coconut trees, although they generally stand at the edge of the plantations, take considerable space and there are jack fruit (*kātāl*) and mango trees close to the houses as well as the vegetable patches. If it is taken that no more than a quarter of the area classified as orchard is covered by regular *supari* plantations, the number of trees is over forty millions. The trees require no looking after except that the dead leaves are cut away every year at the beginning of the rainy season, and the produce is worth 5 annas a tree after deducting the cost of plucking and drying the nuts for the market. The net annual value of the trees to their owners is, therefore, not much under a million pounds sterling.

The centre of the betel-nut trade is Lakshmipur, where there are merchants who deal with very large quantities and export to Burma as well as to Chittagong, Calcutta and the interior of Bengal. Burmese merchants also frequent Lakshmipur and take away their purchase with them. There is a by-product of the *supari* tree which is not altogether unimportant as the getting of it gives employment to many old women and children of the poorest families. A thin almost transparent fibrous tissue is taken out from the fallen leaves after removing the outer covering of the sheath-like formation where the leaf joins into the tree stem. It is called *khui* and sold for export to Burma, where it is used to supply an outer covering for cheroots and put on as they are being rolled. From 60 to 100 fallen leaves will supply a seer of *khui* and it fetches two annas.

83. There are no large plantations of coconut trees by themselves, but  
 Coconut and other palms. wherever they will grow there are some in each homestead and round the verge of each *supari* garden. As is found in Madras and on the Pacific islands the trees do best within reach of the sea air. On the rich dark earth in the western part of the district they flourish exceedingly. They are not found at all in Ohhāgal-nāiā thana nor in most of Feni thana. The Settlement staff of Kanungos and Inspecting Officers were very glad to find them, for they afford a cool and refreshing drink which can always be relied upon to be free from contamination. The trees are grown from seed sown on high land at the beginning of the rains. They bear fruit about the fifth year and will go on bearing, it is said, for 60 years or more. When they are dried for the market and exported, a hundred nuts fetch about Rs. 2-8, and one tree would be worth 12 annas to a rupee annually, but most of the nuts do not find their way to market. Cultivators and especially children are inordinately fond of them, and it is the ordinary form of hospitality to a stranger to offer him a *dāb* as the green nuts are called.

The *khājūr* (date) palm produces a worthless fruit with very little more than a skin over the stone. The trees are tapped regularly. The juice is not used for making toddy, but rather for *gur* (molasses) and in sweetmeats. The *tāl* (palmyra) is a very fine and ornamental tree in Noakhali, raising its head well above the rest of the vegetation. It is common for a cultivator to set a stranger on his way with directions in which various *tāl* trees are the sign-posts. The *tāl* tree is not tapped. Its fruit which ripens in August is mainly used for making sweetmeats.

84. The mangoes (*ām*) of Noakhali are usually uneatable, small, with a  
 Fruit trees. very unpleasant taste of turpentine and full of worms, but there are two or three trees in every homestead. The jack fruit (*kātāl*) is a favourite with the cultivating classes. The fruit grows to an enormous size. Plantain (*kalā*) trees are very common, but their fruit again is not good, often full of seeds and usually of poor flavour. Noakhali is in fact a district without any good fruit and it is entirely without flowers, for every little piece of land comes under the utilitarian ban of cultivation.

85. In most of the estates in Noakhali the *kabuliats* which the landlords and tenure-holders have taken from the *raiya*t contain a clause to the effect that, though the tenant may plant trees and enjoy the fruit of those he has planted and of those already growing when he entered into possession, he shall not cut down any valuable tree without his landlord's permission. In point of fact, however, this clause in the *kabuliat* is never insisted upon. A tenant never thinks of asking his landlord's permission to cut down a tree on his holding, and the landlord never obtains any share of the proceeds if the wood is sold. In the face of the heavy diluvion which has been taking place almost all along the seaface for many years, the *raiya*t have salvaged what they could from the wrecks of their homesteads by cutting down their trees before the water carried them away, and selling them for as much as they would fetch. Such sales must have reached a very considerable figure, but I venture to assert that the landlords have realized nothing whatsoever from the *raiya*t in this connection. Under the law (section 23 of the Tenancy Act) an occupancy *raiya*t may not cut down trees in contravention to any local custom. There is in Noakhali no such local custom, and this opportunity is taken of emphasizing the fact. There has fallen considerable hardship upon *raiya*t in certain proceedings in the district under the Land Acquisition Act on account of a large proportion of the compensation for the acquisition of land, upon which valuable trees were growing, having been awarded to the landlord by reason of a clause in the *kabuliats* such as has just been mentioned.

86. Bullocks are ordinarily used throughout the district for ploughing, but there is no great prejudice against yoking cows to the plough, and this is perhaps more often seen in Noakhali than in other parts of Eastern Bengal. The cattle are mainly of local breed. Those imported into Bengal from Bihar find their way less often to this, the furthest Bengal district except Chittagong, than to the nearer ones. The local breed produces miserable specimens, very small and weak, but apparently healthy. Imported cattle very quickly deteriorate in the damp climate. According to the cattle census of 1914 the proportion of imported to locally-bred bullocks was 1 to 34·97, and of those imported 90 per cent. were found in Rāmganj and Lakshmipur *thanas*. In the other *thanas* of the district the proportion was 1 to 210. There are no cattle markets in the district to which imported cattle are regularly brought except to the cattle fair held once a year at Rāipura. Imported bulls were found to be only 1 to 429·33 locally bred in the whole district, and imported cows 1 to 216·22 locally bred. From this it appears that the infusion of new blood in the local breed is very little indeed. In no other Bengal district was the proportion of imported to locally-bred bulls, and in only one other district in Eastern or Northern Bengal was the proportion of imported to locally-bred cows, shown less than one to one hundred. To improve the breed by importing up-country bulls at the expense of the District Board has been tried and is not a success. The local cows are so small and weak that the bull is altogether too heavy for them. The inferiority of the local breed is due to three causes—the climate the effect of which shows itself immediately on imported cattle, the scarcity of fodder and the custom of using immature bulls for breeding purposes.

87. Every available inch, it might be said, of the mainland that is fit for cultivation and not required for human occupation is brought under the plough or planted with fruit-bearing trees. Public grazing grounds on the mainland are non-existent. Every pathway or cattle track is pared down by the cultivators whose fields are on either side, until it barely leaves room for two persons to pass one another on foot. The banks of tanks and the slopes of the embankments of public roads are the only grazing grounds, and the cattle subsist mainly on straw, paddy husks and the coarse grass which grows in tanks almost silted up. When the rice crops have just been cut they get enough to eat, but at other times of the year they are half-starved. The months in which they are

<sup>a</sup> In Bengal a lease is concluded by an exchange of documents. The landlord gives to the tenant a document called *patta* accepting him as tenant. The tenant returns the counterpart called *kabuliat*. In the case of *raiya*t holdings the *patta* is ordinarily dispensed with.



worst off are from February to July and again in October and November. Their owners seem altogether indifferent to their sufferings and oblivious to their own interest in the matter. It is only seldom that a crop of *keshari* is grown after the winter rice that the cattle may feed of it off the ground. New islands, which are not yet fit for cultivation but bear grass, can always be leased out for grazing at high rates, and cattle are taken over to them and left there from November to March and sometimes later, but such new formations are only available to those who live near the coast and to the islanders. It is difficult to suggest a means of ameliorating the present condition while the owners of the cattle have no thought of humanity towards them. The expense of acquisition of land by a public body for grazing purposes would be prohibitive, and such acquisitions would be of little use, for the people would not take the trouble to drive their cattle any distance to graze. Such grounds, moreover, would disappear as the cattle paths have disappeared, for there would be no co-operation of the villagers to keep them intact. They are peculiarly deficient in this district of the capacity for joint-action and none have any customary authority over the others.

88. Some bull-calves are castrated when they are small, but a larger number are not touched until they are about three years old and have been used a few times for breeding purposes. The figures which were collected by the Settlement staff, showing the numbers of agricultural stock in the area 1,162 sq. miles, for which a record-of-rights was prepared, are given in tabular form in Appendix C to this report. They show one bull to every 12 bullocks, but as almost all the bulls were young animals the number of bulls is very liable to be affected by the unequal action of different persons in drawing the line between a bull and a bull-calf. A cultivator possessing an animal nearly full-grown often says "I possess a bull," when if it had been a castrated animal he would still have called it a calf. A big full-grown bull is seen very seldom indeed and in this matter, therefore, the figures without explanation are liable to mislead. The cattle census disclosed only 41 Brāhmini bulls in the whole district, 23 in Rāmganj, 18 in Lashmipur and none in any other thana. Tippera had 400, Bakarganj 899, Faridpur 1,440, Mymensingh 2,583 and Dacca 759. In its small number of Brāhmini bulls Noakhali is unique in the province. Brāhmini bulls afford no assistance to breeders. There is no advantage in breeding from immature bulls. The practice appears to be in vogue because no cultivator wants the trouble of keeping a large bull when a bullock would be more useful and more tractable. The incapacity of the cultivators for co-operation precludes any arrangement by which several would jointly maintain such an animal for their use, and there is no father of his village as in other parts who is prepared to do so for the use of the villagers.

89. The cows of the local breed give very little milk, and milk is, therefore, somewhat expensive, but the bullocks are capable of doing the work which the cultivator requires of them. There is in Noakhali one bullock to 4.56 acres of cropped land. In Dacca, according to the Settlement Officer's figures, there are 3.74 acres of cropped land to one bullock and in Faridpur only 3.68. Even in Monghyr district in Bihar, where the cattle are far larger and more powerful, there is one bull or bullock for every 4.79 acres. These figures make it appear that the miserable Noakhali bullocks are able to do better than those in Dacca and Faridpur and are not much behind the bullocks of Bihar. The explanation is partly that cows are sometimes used for ploughing in Noakhali and buffaloes somewhat more numerous than elsewhere, but is mainly in the climatic conditions. The Noakhali cultivator does very well without a *rabi* crop, and for his other crops never has to plough the land when it is dry and hard. The improvement of the breed in Noakhali is, therefore, not by any means a matter of such importance as might have been expected. Small animals are all that is required, and instead of importing fine up-country bulls to assist the breeders, the District Board would be better advised to keep picked bulls of local or Manipuri breed.



90. There are more buffaloes in proportion to the number of cows and bullocks in Noakhali than in other districts of Eastern Bengal except Bakarganj, but the excess is to be found only on the islands where there is some grazing land available. They are fine animals and are easy to manage. On the islands they are often used for ploughing. On the mainland there are more females than males and they are kept for milking. Cow's milk is usually preferred, but a buffalo will give six times as much as a cow. The new formations in South Hātīā contain wild buffaloes, and this is one of the few places in Bengal where there is an opportunity for tame buffaloes to be crossed with wild ones. Sheep are very few. Goats enumerated were only one-sixth as many as the cattle. The figures show that they are fewer on the islands, and this is obvious to every observer. The enumeration of his bullocks and cows was treated as a matter of importance by the cultivator, but when the enumerator passed on to sheep and goats he did not take it so seriously. In Dacca and Faridpur Settlements where the list went on to chickens and ducks his face usually broke into a broad grin and he said he had one of each. These were not enumerated in Noakhali, but the figure for goats is not to be taken as at all reliable.

91. Horses are few. Only 614 were counted. They are usually very small indeed and are used for carrying old men of some respectability and importance at an easy pace about their business. They are not pack animals. 1,836 carts were enumerated. They are much more frequently met with than in Bakarganj, Faridpur and Dacca, outside the city and the high country to the north of it. They were found wherever there are roads fit for cart traffic and seem to be fast increasing in numbers. More than ten times as many boats were counted. Begamganj and Rāmganj *thanas*, untouched by any considerable river, account for 75 per cent. of them and on the islands there are more carts than boats. It has already been mentioned that Noakhali people venture very seldom on the big river. The boats counted ply mainly on the small *khals* which afford means of communication across the mainland away from the seafaces for six months of every year. In the lowest parts of Rāmganj and Begamganj boats are used by the cultivators during the rains as the ordinary means of getting about. In them in those parts the summer rice after it has been reaped is taken to the homestead to be threshed and stored and the jute is taken to market.

92. The estimation of the produce of an acre of land under each crop, although it might have been expected to be comparatively easy, is in reality extremely difficult. The matter is one regarding which no cultivator will speak the truth when questioned on the subject. This is to some extent the case all the world over, but it is particularly so among such suspicious people as the Noakhali *raiya*s. Crop-cutting experiments can be very misleading, for, however carefully they may be carried out, it is impossible to ensure that the plot chosen bore an average crop. One of the main difficulties in carrying out such experiments is to ensure that the paddy, for instance, is thoroughly dried. If it is still little damp when it is weighed the weight is much more than it should be. An officer conducting such an experiment cannot sit by and watch the paddy till it is dry. He must leave that to others, and the hand of all the cultivating class is against him by instinct. The results obtained by experiment are usually so divergent that they are of little value. The figures in the following table are not based to any great extent on crop-cutting experiments but rather on opinions given by many different persons :—

**Average value of the produce of one acre in Noakhali of the following crops, deducting cost of production other than the value of labour expended.**

			Rs.	
Winter rice transplanted	...	...	58	
Ditto sown broadcast	...	...	54	
Summer rice	...	...	50	
Khesari	...	...	27	or Rs. 12 when it is used
Musuri	...	...	25	when half-ripe as a
Mung	...	...	21	fodder crop.

					Rs.
Til	...	...	...	...	18
Mustard	...	...	...	...	27
Linseed	...	...	...	...	22
Jute	...	...	...	...	150
Chillis	...	...	...	...	105

at Rs. 8 per maund.

Even when the labour is entirely supplied by the cultivator and his family, the labour required is of course of consideration with him in choosing



## PART II.

### Fiscal History and the Resultant System of Land Tenure.

#### CHAPTER I.

##### Before 1765.

94. The eastern part of the Ganges delta probably did not come under the control of Aryan races until comparatively late. Megasthenes as well as the Sanskrit classics place it beyond the pale of Hindu civilization. The kingdom of Kamalanka mentioned by Huen Tsang (sixth century) is little more than a name and the traditional stories of the beginning of Bhulua are not history. History begins in these parts with the coming of the Muhammadans. When they established themselves at Dacca, Noakhali became the jumping-off place for their attacks on Chittagong and the Arracanese and the first part of their dominions to be harried when the latter tried to turn the tables upon them. Muhammed Tugral (A. D. 1279) was the first Muhammadan to make his power felt east of the Meghna. Shāmsuddin, the Governor of Sonārgāon in 1347, defeated Rājā Pratāp Manikya of Tippera and conquered Chittagong. It relapsed almost at once to the Arracanese and for the next three centuries was taken and retaken several times by each of the three parties, the Muhammadan Governors of Sonārgāon, the Rājās of Tippera and the Kings of Arracan. The conditions prevailing in Noakhali, which was reckoned generally under the suzerainty of Sonārgāon, depended on the issue for the time being between these three. The Ain-i-Akbari (1587 A.D.) shows that Chittagong was then in Muhammadan hands, but the revenue of the district came almost entirely from the town and port. The Muhammadans had not a strong enough hold to be able to assess land revenue outside the immediate neighbourhood of the town. It was retaken by the Arracanese almost immediately, and then began the long struggle between the Mughls and the Muhammadans in which the Portuguese pirates of Sandwip, by throwing themselves in on the one side and the other, were able for a time to hold the balance of power. There is a full account of their story in Mr. Webster's Gazetteer of Noakhali. Muhammadan power was firmly established only after the final conquest of Chittagong by Isā Khān in 1666. The incursions of the Mughls continued for another century. Parts of the Delta, especially in Bakarganj, were more or less deserted on account of their ravages, and Rennell marks a number of forts that were held against them, but after 1666 they came as raiders and robbers rather than invaders.

95. In other parts of Bengal administrations and jurisdictions have been distributed and redistributed so often, not only after the acquisition of the Dewani by the Company in 1765, but also in the centuries of Muhammadan rule preceding it, that it is impossible in most districts of Bengal to make any satisfactory comparison between the revenue of any one of them at different times since 1582, the date of Todar Mal's assessment recorded in the Ain-i-Akbari. But the administration of Noakhali with the hills to the east, the sea to the south, and the big river to the west was never joined with that of any adjoining area except to the north. Moreover, in the times of stress before 1666, when the *zamindars* in other parts of Bengal, undisturbed from outside, spent their energies in quarrels among themselves, snatching pieces of land as they could here and there from one another, the *zamindars* of the Noakhali *parganas* had continually to combine forces either for attack or to resist the incursions of the Arracanese. Their *parganas* thus remained solid blocks apart from one another, instead of being interlaced as they were nearer Dacca and the centre of Moghul Government. The geography of the Noakhali *parganas* is illustrated in the map which has been prepared and is to be

found in Appendix III to this report. So that it may illustrate the history of the *parganas* the better, green, with hatchings of green, and black hatching, on a green ground, indicates Bhuluā Pargana and derivatives from it.

The first Moghul assessment,  
1587

96. The Ain-i-Akbari mentions the following Noakhali *parganas* :—

				Revenue.	
In Sarkar Fathabad—*					
Sandwip	...	...	1,182,450 <i>dāms</i> or Rs. 29,561		
In Sarkar Sonargaon—					
Bhalwa Jowar (Bhuluā)	...	...	1,331,480	"	33,287
Jogidiya	...	...	512,080	"	12,802
Dandera	...	...	412,380	"	10,309
Total				...	85,959

This was the *khālsa*† revenue. Abul Fazl Allami does not give details by *Sarkārs* of the *jāigir*† revenue, but while the whole *khālsa* revenue of Bengal was counted 63½ lakhs the *jāigirs* were valued at 43½ lakhs and the *nānkṛ*‡ at 3¼ lakhs. In later assessments the *jāigir* of some of the Noakhali *parganas* was more than the *khālsa*. At first sight it may appear that some *parganas* were missed out by Abul Fazl, but it is known that Amirābād (of Bhuluā), Jaynagar, Bābupur, Rāmchandrapur, Gopālpur-Mirzānagar, Tappe Aswadiā and Chaklā Ghoshbāg are derivatives of Bhuluā, and that the middle of the district, then buried in jungle, only came under cultivation and was formed into Amrābād Pargana a century and a half later. Probably Bedārābād and Amirābād were then part of the Tippera Rājā's property, but it is not impossible that they (or part of them) may have been included, one in Dāndrā and one in Jugidiā. The matter is obscure, but the latter possibility would explain the high revenues of Dāndrā and Jugidiā, and, if it is a fact, Akbar's revenue of Rs. 85,989 covered nearly all the area, except later alluvial accretions, for which revenue is now paid into the Noakhali Collectorate. What is most remarkable in Abul Fazl's figures is the high revenue assessed on Sandwip. The *pargana* now covers not more than one-fifth the area included in the *parganas* assessed in 1582 as Bhuluā at Rs. 33,287. The revenue Rs. 29,561 included not only the *mal* revenue or revenue derived direct from land, but the various dues which were realized on exports and imports and upon the manufacture of salt, but even so the high figure points to the conclusion either that Sandwip was much larger than now, or that cultivation was far more advanced than on the mainland or, more probably, that both were the case.

97. The revenue of Bengal underwent complete disorganization during the reigns of Akbar's successors. Jehāngir was tempted to bestow the Subhadāri for the promise of a regular payment of 10 lakhs a year into the Imperial Treasury. In Shah Johān's reign, when the Assamese, the Tipperas and the Arracanese were all making inroads into the Moghul Province, transmission of treasure to Delhi ceased altogether. Sultān Shujā's strong administration of 20 years brought reorganization. He made in 1658 the second Moghul assessment, drew up the revenue roll afresh, added 361 *parganas* to the original 682 and increased the *khālsa* revenue by nearly 10 lakhs. Most of his new *parganas* were formed by the division of existing ones, but there were some annexations including Sarkār Udāipur, the property of the Tippera Rājā, of which Thana Chhāgalnāā of Noakhali within Chaklā Roshnābād was a part. There were annexations also from Assam, and certain *parganas* were transferred to the Subha of Orissa.

98. The next reconstruction of the revenue roll was completed in 1772 by the Viceroy Murshid Quli Khān. The increase this time in the revenue of the *khālsa* lands was 11½ lakhs, but there was a further addition of 10¾ lakhs by the transfer of

\* The spellings of Bloekmann's translation are used.

† Part of the revenue was immediately appropriated for military establishments. This was called *jāigir*. The net amount after deducting the *jāigir* was called the *khālsa*.

‡ Revenue remitted to the landlord.

lands from *jāigir* to *khālsa*. The total revenue of Bengal had increased from Rs. 1,06,93,152 to Rs. 1,42,88,186 between 1587 and 1722. It had not been a large increase. The decrease in purchasing power of silver owing to the discovery and large output of it from the mines in the Spanish Americas had been very marked in Europe and had begun to be felt in India. The revisions of Todar Mal's assessment had not apparently been made on the basis of detailed measurements of the land and regular computations of the assets of the *parganas*, and the burden upon individual estates in 1722 was probably very unequal.

99. Such was the universality of corruption in the country in the eighteenth century that for the Moghul Dewan or even a private *Zamindar* to attempt to revise the assessment of revenue or rent on the basis of a measurement of the land in occupation and under the plough would have been to invite wholesale fraud, and both the Government and the *Zamindars* adopted the *ābwāb* as an alternative expedient. The word has now come to signify an illegal exaction made by a landlord or by a landlord's agent from his unsophisticated tenants and put into his own pocket. Originally it had no such sinister meaning. It was merely an enhancement of the revenue of the *Zamindars*, and by the *Zamindars* of the rents of their tenants to meet the increased revenue, made rateably upon existing dues. It was the method of imposing an enhancement alternative to the *takhsisi*\* method, as it was called, of a detailed computation of the assets. Between 1722 and 1763 no less than Rs. 1,19,09,388 was added to the revenue roll of the province by means of *ābwābs*. Out of this amount about Rs. 76,00,000 was added between 1756 and 1763. Eighty per cent. was added to the assessment in 41 years. Whether the enhanced revenues and especially the "*Kaifiyat*" and "*Taufir*" added by Kasim Ali Khān between 1756 and 1763 were realized to any degree exhaustively has always been a matter of doubt. The British administration in the years following never succeeded in realizing nearly as much land revenue as the reputed assessment roll of 1763 showed, and the method of enhancement that had been employed left as a legacy to the British the uncertainty as to the proper assessment and inequality of its distribution among individual *parganas*, which the years of administration before 1793 failed to dispel and the Permanent Settlement has perpetuated.

100. Whether the *ābwābs* imposed up to 1763 were in fact realized or realizable formed the main contention in the historic controversy in which Sir John Shore and James Grant were the spokesmen of the opposite parties in the deliberations preceding Permanent Settlement Proclamation. Grant was the man of figures, Shore the man of administrative experience. The basis of Grant's calculations, the 22 volumes of accounts in Persian which he had acquired by means of "a light and private purse", was not of unassailable authenticity, and Grant's own figures are full of inaccuracies and inconsistencies. His statement of the *Ausil Jumma Toomary* † (Revenue Roll) of the "Neabat of Dacca" for the year 1135 B. S., i.e. 1728 A. D., mentioned the following Noakhali *parganas* with their revenues :—

	Rs.
Circar Sunargam—	
Amurabad Dunderah ... ..	4,617
Amurabad Noabad Bulwah ... ..	289
Ameerabad Dunderah ... ..	1,173
Allahabad ... ..	455
Bulwah ... ..	52,412
Baboo Poor ... ..	350
Denderah ... ..	7,030
Gopaulnagar Bulwah ... ..	2,963
Jogdeah ... ..	16,984
Kunchenpoor ... ..	2,090
Kudwah Bulwah ... ..	3,540
Mirzanagar of Gopaulnagar ... ..	143
Shaistehnagar ... ..	993
Circar Futtehabad—Sundup ... ..	54,696

\* The expression *takhsis jamabandi* is also appropriated to a special meaning to signify the assessment roll of 1722—cf. Wilkins' Glossary to the 5th Report "Tucksees Jumnaabundy"

† Grant's spelling is used here and in the table which follows.

There are three Noakhali *parganas* very liable to be confused by their names. Grant failed to distinguish them. There are two *parganas* named Amirābād, one derivative of Bhuluā and the other covered by the same estates as Kadbā and Bedārābād. There is another named Amrābād. The initial A in the latter word is short, in the former word long. What Grant wrote "Aumerabad Dunderah" must, I think, be Amirābād of Kadbā. Amrābād is known to have been jungle very late in the history of Noakhali and, according to tradition, was created a *pargana* about 1141 B.S. (1734 A.D.) which is the date in the inscription on the mosque at Bazrā in Begamganj *thana* said to have been erected by the first *zamindars*; but it is such a large tract that it cannot have been altogether without assessment before that time. It might conceivably answer to the description Amurabad Noabad Bulwah, for Bulwah must have been known to Grant as one of the "districts" to which Supervisors were appointed in 1769, and he might use the name in connection with anything in the district as he actually does use it in writing "Kudwah Bulwah", but it is inconceivable that the Amirābād split off from Bhuluā should be described as Amurabad Dunderah. I am, therefore, inclined to think that "Amurabad Dunderah" with a revenue of Rs. 4,617, is Amrābād, and "Amurabad Noabad Bhulwah," with a revenue of Rs. 289, is the Amirābād derived from Bhuluā. Jaynagar, Rāmchandrapur, Tappe Aswadiā and Chaklā Ghoshbāg were still part of Bhuluā. Grant has missed out Bedārābād, but its revenue is discoverable from the next table where the revenue for Kadbā Amirābād and Bedārābād together is given as Rs. 9,926. The revenue of Bedārābād was, therefore, Rs. 5,213. The total revenue of Rs. 1,52,948 for 1728 A.D. covered the area of practically all the estates (except such as have formed by alluvion since) which now pay revenue into Noakhali Collectorate.

101. This total includes both *Khālsā*\* and *Jāigir*. Grant gives a table for the "Neabat of Dacca" headed† "Eathimam bundy Khalsa and Jageer original, with increased assessments of the principal Zemindary of the province of Dacca, as in 1165 B.S. When the whole number of these territorial trusts comprising the beforestated 241 whole or broken Pergunnahs were reckoned 412 athals or farms paying separately their yearly rents to Government." The *Khālsā* and *Jāigir* revenues of the Noakhali *parganas* among these in 1135 B.S. and the increased revenue of 1170 B.S. (1763 A.D.) are given as follows:—

Rathimam-darries or Zemindarries (with name of holder).	Number of Zemindary.	Number of Mhals.	AUSIL JUMMA OF 1135.			Jumma Kool Ausil and Abwah 1170.
			Khalsa.	Jageer.	Total.	
Soondeep Island, Buktia Singh, etc., Choudries.	3	1	54,696	...	54,696	108,470
Singhugong and Kunchinpoor to Kuoo, etc.	3	2	5,737	3,388	9,125	22,028
Kudwah Amurabad to Bijeynarrain, etc.	3	3	9,926	...	9,926	38,302
Bhulwah to Raje Kurrut Narrain ...	3	1	14,271	26,891	41,162	135,982
Jugdia to Rugooram ...	3	1	...	16,984	16,984	177,367
Dunderah and Allahabad to Mahomed Arayet, etc.	2	1	2,348	5,138	7,486	48,638
Baboo Poor, Andynarrain ...	1	1	350	...	350	12,948
Gopaulpoor Mirzanagar, Shufuldin ...	2	2	3,106	...	3,106	15,889

Before striking a total it is necessary to separate the revenue for "Kunchinpoor" from the combined revenue for it and "Singhugong" (Singhergāon), a *pargana* which belongs to Tippera. The total revenue "Kunchinpoor" was Rs. 2,090. If this is divided between *khālsā* and *jāigir* in the proportion in which the joint-revenue of the two is divided, we get for "Kunchinpoor" *khālsā* Rs. 1,304 and *jāigir* Rs. 786. The table shows from the fact that 3 "Mhals" and 3 "Zemindaries" were included in the settlement of "Kudwah Amurābād", that Bedārābād was also included. These 3 *parganas* are known to have been settled as one for some time before the Permanent Settlement. The total revenue for Bhuluā is only to be explained by the separation of Jaynagar

\* The spelling used for such words follows the manner in which they are transliterated into Bengali.

† Grant's spelling is again used.

and perhaps some others from it which were included with it when the revenue was stated as Rs. 52,412. It is interesting to notice that none of the revenue of Sandwip or the Kadbā group was *jāigir* as was the whole of Jugidiā's, more than two-thirds of Dāndrā's, and nearly two-thirds of Bhuluā's. According to tradition Jugidiā and Dāndrā were pre-eminently military settlements like Roman *Coloniae*, placed to block the land route of possible invasion from Chittagong, while Bhuluā was the warden of the approaches to the Meghna. Grant's table did not pretend to include more than the "principal zemindarries". Out of Rs. 1,35,800 Rs. 86,011 was *khālsā* revenue and Rs. 49,799 *jāigir*. In the same proportion the whole revenue, Rs. 1,55,197, would be Rs. 98,287 *khālsā* and Rs. 56,910 *jāigir*. On this calculation the *khālsā* revenue of Noakhali increased only from Rs. 85,959 in 1582 A. D. to Rs. 98,287 in 1728 A. D. The same aspersions that are cast at Grant's figures for the revenue after the addition of the *ābwābs*—that the revenue as he states it, if he is correct, was unrealized and unrealizable—cannot be applied to his statement of the revenue of Jāffier Khān (1728 A. D.). In all probability the *khālsā* revenue, Rs. 98,287, from the Noakhali *parganas* was regularly paid.

102. According to Grant's figures, between 1728 and 1763 the *ābwābs* imposed upon the Noakhali *parganas* were very heavy indeed. Turning again to the last table it is seen that the assessment on Pargana Bābupur was increased 37 times, on Dāndrā and Ellāhābād nearer seven than six times, on Gopālpur-Mirzānagar five times, on Kadbā, etc., nearly four times, on Bhuluā three times and on Sandwip nearly twice. Only in the case of Jugidiā was the enhancement moderate, for Jugidiā had begun to undergo diluvion. Assuming that Singhergāon and Kānchānpur shared their imposition in the same proportion the table shows that the revenue of the Noakhali *parganas* included in it, Rs. 1,35,800, was increased to Rs. 5,42,636, and if the same rate of increase took place into the whole revenue of 1728 A. D., it increased from Rs. 1,52,948 to Rs. 6,11,158. But owing to the clearing and assessment of Amrābād, which is not included in Grant's table of principal *zamindāris*, it must have been more. The revenue of Amrābād was just half a *lakh* of rupees in the early days of the British administration. Accepting Grant's figures as correct the *ābwābs* imposed must have brought the total revenue of the Noakhali *parganas* up to about Rs. 6,50,000 in 1763. Between 1582 and 1722, during which time they were Border Estates constantly at war with the neighbours of the Moghul power, the enhancement was only 11½ per cent., but according to the calculation based on Grant's figures, between 1728 and 1763 it was 320 per cent. Even if the enhancement was only partially realized the enormous imposition points to a great increase in prosperity in these parts during the period, an increase in prosperity much greater than in the province as a whole.

## CHAPTER II.

### Early British Administration and the Permanent Settlement.

103. After the grant of the Dewani of Bengal, Behar and Orissa to the Company in 1765 the assessment and collection of revenue was at first left entirely in the hands of Indians. The famous Muhammad Rezā Khān was selected by Clive to collect the revenue, with the title of Nāib Dewān, and retained the position until 1772. That Muhammad Rezā was himself responsible for such enormous defalcations as those of which James Grant subsequently accused him cannot have been the case, but the funnel through which the revenue was poured into the Company's treasuries leaked in all directions. If the Nāib Dewān himself did not accumulate a large fortune it was because his subordinates helped themselves so freely. The expectations of the Company in regard to the revenue also appear to have been exaggerated, and the first few years brought disappointment in the matter of the realizations. The first step towards reform was the appointment of European



Supervisors in 1769, whose functions were to make enquiries, historical and statistical, with a view to an estimate of what revenue the Company should expect to receive. Chittagong had been one of the districts ceded to the Company in 1760 and there had been a strong European administration ever since. The rest of the country east of the Meghna was within the *ihitimam* of Jallālpur and the collections were in the hands of the Dewān at Dacca, one Heymat Singh, who used the title of Rājā and was paid at the high rate of Rs. 4,000 a month. At Dacca also there was a European Supervisor, Mr. Middleton, of the Company's service. In August 1771 the Court of Directors determined, and on 11th May 1772 the Proclamation was issued from Fort William publishing their determination, "to stand forth as Dewān and by the agency of the Company's servants to take upon themselves the entire care and management of the revenue". Warren Hastings arrived in Bengal and it was immediately decided that farming settlements would afford the easiest and most productive system to be adopted.

104. In May it was determined that the first settlements should be for five years from the Bengali year which had just begun. The conclusion of these settlements was left to a Committee of Circuit consisting of the four junior Members of Council. The Company had hoped that the bidding for the farms, which were to be made, would give them an insight into the real value of the properties concerned, but in this they were disappointed. In each *pargana* the only bidders against the old *zamindars* were no more than speculators with no real knowledge of the property. The old *zamindars* were not encouraged. Speculators, whose intention was to realize as much as possible within their term of five years, at once outbid them with offers of revenue which they knew their estates could not bear continuously. Though in some instances the *zamindars* in order to retain their properties bid very high, usually settlements were concluded with the speculators, and instead of improving the condition of uncertainty as to what the revenue of each *pargana* ought to be, the system did more harm than good by the extinction of the old collecting agency.

105. In May 1772 the Supervisors, whose enquiries had been, and in the nature of the case it could not have been otherwise, unsuccessful, became Collectors. In the summer of 1772, when Middleton at Dacca was succeeded by Nathaniel Greuber, Barton at Lakshmipur was Collector for Bhulūā and other *parganas* and also received the revenue paid by the Tippera Rājā for the old Sarkār Udāipur, including Chaklā Roshnābād and Hill Tippera, and Thackeray was Collector of Sylhet.

106. The difficulty of realizing the revenue of the quinquennial settlement, even for the first year, determined the Council in Calcutta to adopt a policy of centralization. Though, as results afterwards proved, it was not the collecting agency that was at fault, Collectors were abolished in 1773 and collection placed under the control of the Provincial Councils which were established that year. Sarkār Udāipur was placed under Chittagong, which remained separate, but the rest of the country east of the Meghna passed under the control of the Provincial Council at Dacca.

107. There was, however, no improvement in the collection of revenue, and it became gradually more and more appreciated that the farming system, applied as the Committee of Circuit had applied it, was a failure. That Committee had carried its methods to an extreme when it concluded a settlement covering by one agreement Parganas Jugidiā, Chaudhagrām, Bābupur, Dāndrā, Ellāhābād, Uttar Shāhabāzpur and seven-anna shares of Dollāi and Gunānandi with Gakul Mukharji of Calcutta. One of these *parganas*, Uttar Shāhabāzpur, lies west of the Meghna. The others are scattered over an area reaching from Chāndpur to a point 15 miles west of Comilla and almost to the borders of Chittagong. At the end of the first four years of the settlement Gakul Mukharji was in arrears to the extent of Rs. 50,453.\*

\*Proceedings of the Dacca Provincial Council, dated the 17th April 1777.

On the east of the Meghna, in what are now the districts of Tippera and Noakhali, Bhulua owed to the extent of Rs. 48,000, Gangamandal Rs. 42,000, Mehār Rs. 13,714, Pātikārā Rs. 11,704 and Sandwip as much as Rs. 1,43,683. a sum approaching two years' revenue.

108. The Court of Directors had already determined upon a change of policy, and in 1776 had ordered that after the term of the quinquennial settlement had expired, the old *parganas* should be dealt with individually on resettlement. Their instructions provided that "none be in future let by public auction," that "preference be given and every indulgence shown to the natives resident on the spot, and that no European nor the *banyan* of any European be permitted to hold any share" and that "preference be given to the hereditary *zamindārs*". They further expressed themselves as follows :— "Though it is not thought expedient to grant a settlement in perpetuity, yet the Court of Directors wish the *zamindārs* to understand that, provided they are fair to their tenants and regular in their payment of revenue to Government, they will in all cases be given preference and not molested or dispossessed." They were also to give *pattas* to their tenants "otherwise they will forfeit their lien to their estates". Though this last instruction remained the avowed policy up till the time of the Permanent Settlement and *pattas* were never regularly distributed by private *zamindars* east of the Meghna, there is no instance in which the threat was carried out. The settlements were not to be for more than two years and in these parts were always for one year only. The policy established by those instructions was maintained until the Decennial Settlement was determined upon. The Provincial Councils were empowered to conclude settlement of *parganas* the revenue of which was not more than Rs. 30,000. The cases of larger ones were to be referred to Calcutta.

109. The revenue at the annual settlements concluded upon these instructions was very much lighter than before and the arrears unpaid became very much less. East of the Meghna the arrears at the end of the first annual settlement were insignificant except in the case of Jugidiā which was feeling the effects of diluvion. Nominally, the revenue was payable at numerous *kists* throughout the year but in practice payment at these *kists* was not enforced. Accounts of collection from Bhulua for 1191 B.S. show that Rs. 66,224, three-quarters of the annual revenue, was collected between the 20th of *Augrahayan* and the end of *Chaitra*, i.e., after the winter rice crop had been cut. The same page of accounts contains the curious entry :—

				Rs.
<i>Extracted by force—</i>				
By Narottom Tatadar	...	...	...	300
Muhammad Momeen	...	...	...	700
Ram Suren Naug	...	...	...	50

The Dacca Council remained until 1781, when, following a policy of further centralization, the functions of all the Provincial Councils in concluding settlements were brought together in the hands of the Committee of Revenue at Calcutta. Collectors were again to be appointed, but their functions were to be confined to collection and miscellaneous duties and they were not trusted to conclude settlements. From time to time since 1774 there had been assistants from the Dacca staff at Mymensingh, Bakarganj and Bhulua. In May 1779, Henry Lodge of the Dacca Council had been deputed to superintend the collections of Parganas Bhulua, Jugidiā, Dāndrā, Ellāhābād, Chaudhagrām, Gopālpur-Mirzānagar and Bābupur. Though he did not join owing to ill-health, these *parganas* formed the nucleus of the district of Bhulua which was formed some time after the Provincial Council broke up and lasted until 1787. Dakshin Shāhabāzpur, Homnābād, Mehār, Torā, Pātikārā and Döllāi seem also to have been included. The revenue roll in 1787 showed a total of Rs. 6,96,472.

110. In the year 1784 the Act for the "Better regulation and management of the affairs of the East India Company" was passed by the Houses of Parliament and great reforms in the administration system were evolved before Lord Cornwallis arrived in Calcutta in September 1786. They were in the direction of decentralization. The Committee of Revenue was dissolved and the assessment of revenue devolved upon the Collectors, who were placed under the control of the Board of Revenue. The number of Collectorates in the province was reduced from 35\* to 23 according to Sir John Shore's proposals, and Bhulua as a separate Collectorate disappeared. Estates with a revenue of Rs. 5,88,434 were transferred to Mymensingh, the rest, with a revenue of Rs. 9,818 to Dacca Jallālpur. Some time between 1780 and 1787 Sandwip seems to have been placed under the Collector of Chittagong. The jurisdiction of the Collector of Mymensingh extended from the foot of the Garo Hills down to the borders of Chittagong district.† With his headquarters at Mymensingh or Dacca he was very far removed from his charge in what is now Noakhali district. In August 1787, David Paterson was placed in charge of the collections of Parganas Baradākhāt and Gangāmandal which had been ordered to be held *khās*. These cover roughly the tract west of Roshnābād and east of the Meghna from the latitude of Comilla to the borders of Sarāil. His duty was to make a complete survey and prepare a rent roll. When his work was drawing to a conclusion it was determined that, instead of handing over charge again to the Collector of Mymensingh, he should hand over to Buller, "the Resident in Tippera," i.e., in the estate of the Rājā of Tippera. There had been a permanent Resident at Comilla subordinate to the Collector of Chittagong since 1776. Duncan Campbell had been the first, succeeded by Leake in 1780 and he by Buller in 1784. Buller required the establishment of a Collector after taking over Gangāmandal and Baradākhāt from Paterson in March 1789. The awkwardness of the distribution of jurisdiction had often been manifest, as for example when the Resident at Comilla corresponded in 1788 with the Collector of Mymensingh regarding attacks by dacoits living in Pargana Bedarābād, which was in Mymensingh, upon Pargana Dakshinsek, the scene of occurrence being some miles to the south-east of where Feni now stands, and it was determined to cut "Tippera" off from Chittagong and form a new district. In March 1790, the Collector of Mymensingh made over all the old district of Bhulua to Buller and the new district comprised practically all the present districts of Tippera and Noakhali, with the exception of Pargana Sandwip, which was still part of Chittagong, and Sarāil which remained in Mymensingh. Minor adjustments for convenience of collection were made in the years following by the transfer of certain estates between the districts of Tippera, Dacca and Mymensingh, but none of these affect the area which now comprises Noakhali.

111. Lord Cornwallis had come out with instructions from the Court of Directors and the intention of making a Permanent Settlement. It was not long after his arrival that he realized that the 20 years of revenue administration since the acquisition of the Dewani had by no means given sufficiently exact information as to what the revenue should be. Annual settlements were again made all over Bengal and Behar for the year 1787 and 1788. The Regulation providing for the Decennial Settlement in Bengal was issued in the beginning of 1790. For the whole of what is now the Dacca Division and Tippera and Noakhali the Decennial Settlement was postponed for one year, on the ground of the number of *khārījā tāluks*, the owners of which claimed the right to be separated from their *zamīndars*.

112. When asked again in November 1791 why the "Novennial Settlement" was not complete, the Collector of Tippera, Buller, gave as his excuse again the number of *khārījā tāluks*, and there was still further delay occasioned by his translation to a seat on the Board of Revenue in December,

\* It appears that all 35 had never been separately constituted.

† The account given by Sir William Hunter is incorrect and it is easy to understand how he made his mistake—from the habitual use of the expression "District of Tippera" in official correspondence before 1790 to mean the old Sarkār Udāipur, the property of the Rājā of Tippera, or even to stand for nothing more than Chakla Roshnābād.

and the succession of McGuire. McGuire had submitted proposals regarding all his estates and answered the Board's criticism of them only by November 1792, the settlements to have effect from the beginning of the Bengali year. Actually, therefore, after Lord Cornwallis's arrival and the decentralization which placed the function of concluding settlements in the hands of the Collectors, there were annual settlements in Tippera and Noakhali each year for five years, and the knowledge which was gained in these five years regarding the assets of the various *parganas* was very valuable.

### **Material available as a basis for the Permanent Settlement.**

113. The annual settlements after 1777 had established a certain revenue for each *pargana* that it could undoubtedly bear. The wholesale system of farming settlements had been proved to be useless as an expedient for discovering how much could be borne in addition. The expedient of a detailed enquiry and estimate of the assets of every estate on the basis of a measurement of the cultivated area was not seriously advocated. Its cost no doubt appeared prohibitive, the necessary staff for supervising the native surveyors or "munsiffs" as they were called, was not available, and the opposition of the landlords would have been very strong. It had always been recognized that as an alternative to concluding settlement of an estate with the proprietor or farming it with another person the Company could retain the collection of rent from the tenants in its own hands. When an estate was thus held *khās*, the plan that was adopted was to employ an influential Indian to have charge of the collections on behalf of Government. One who could afford to give substantial security was usually chosen. Such a person was called *sazāwāl*. The reason for not employing Europeans to supervise the collection of rents was given, in the days of the Dacca Council, that they were not in a position to give a security from which the Company could recover its losses if the arrangement was not a success. When Buller, the first Collector of Tippera, took over charge from Wroughton, the Collector of Mymensingh, Pargana Pātikārā was in the hands of a *sazāwāl* and another had charge of the collections of certain parts of Pargana Bhulūā which belonged jointly to the 12-anna and the 4-anna proprietors. But *sazāwāls* too often decamped with what they had collected, as did the *sazāwāl* of the *muklut* (joint) lands of Bhulūā as they were called, and another in Pargana Gangāmandal a little later. When the *sazāwāl* was comparatively honest, his employment did give the Collector some insight into the real figures of the *mufassil* rent roll. In a few cases of big estates which for one reason and another it happened to be necessary to hold *khās* during the period, all too short, of five years after 1777, a European of the Company's covenanted service was put in charge of the collections. When this was done he was instructed to make a thorough enquiry as to what the land revenue ought to be, and prepare a detailed rent roll. The result gave the first reliable evidence regarding the assets of estates that the Company had ever had. On the east of the Meghna there were three such cases. David Paterson's deputation as Commissioner to hold *khās* the two big *parganas* of Baradākhāt and Gangāmandal has already been mentioned. His measurement and estimate of the total assets of those two estates was most thorough and his observations regarding the methods and profits of agriculture make most interesting reading. After the experience of the absconding *sazāwāl* in Bhulūā, the Board determined that the same thing should not happen again. Besides the disputes between the two sets of proprietors over the *muklut* lands, they had others in other parts of the *pargana*. The 4-anna proprietor complained that he had been forcibly dispossessed of a number of villages and applied for an equitable partition of the whole *pargana*. George Dandridge was placed in charge of the collections of the entire *pargana* in June 1790, with instructions both to prepare a rent roll as Paterson had done for Baradākhāt and Gangāmandal and to make a partition of the 12-anna and the 4-anna shares. He was not the level-headed Scotchman that Paterson was, and was a younger man. Moreover, while in Baradākhāt the proprietors were minor girls and in Gangāmandal a recent purchaser, in Bhulūā the 12-anna

co-sharers were descendents of the original Princes of Bhulua and of certain of their most capable servants who had contrived to possess themselves of fractional interests in the *zamindari*, and the 4-anna co-sharer was Gangā Gobinda Singha, who had been Warren Hastings' Dewan, a man in a position to pull many of the strings of Government from Calcutta. These could not be expected to leave Dandridge at peace to collect their rents and frame a

rent roll for their property, even though they were to get an allowance (*mushāhara* was the term then used) of 10 per cent. of the collections. The 12-anna co-sharers opposed him at every turn and the attitude which he took up did not improve matters. He had been sent in the capacity of a Revenue Officer, but he found a state of anarchy and oppression which made him forget his original instructions and enter into a campaign in the interests of law and order. The 4-anna share of the *pargana* had been sold because the proprietors were avowed masters of gangs of dacoits and had absconded when called up for trial. According to Dandridge the twelve-anna proprietors were little better. Sridhar Chaudhuri, the owner of the biggest share, had three sons. It was against the eldest of these, Srijut Chaudhuri, that Dandridge reported in the strongest language. Two months after his arrival he wrote to the Collector that "he is continually dispossessing his neighbours and *talookdars* by force;" that "Gangānarain's decree for 56 villages is mere waste paper; he has not obtained possession of a single one of them;" that another decree obtained by Debi Porsad, the proprietor of a 7-anna share of Amirābād, was the same; that there were "multitudes of complaints against him for dispossession of *talooks*, robberies, murders, extortions, etc." and that he maintained "*killahs* fortified with strong mud walls and garrisoned by 50 to 150 men each well armed with matchlocks, *roy bansas*, *tulwars* and other weapons". He mentions five such forts at places the names of which are all easily recognizable at the present day, "Chowmohunny, Chur Algey, Dood Mookha, Nullooah and Ramesherpore". As the result of Dandridge's exertions the forts were broken up and Srijut was sent up for trial, but two bands of dacoits, a hundred and two hundred strong, remained at large, led by a number of "Portugese" who had been in Srijut's employ. Sridhar Chaudhuri and his remaining two sons, however, refused to appear before Dandridge, sent insulting messages to him and set their faces against all he did. The Bengali year was drawing to a close and only a fraction of the rents had been collected. Without consulting anyone Dandridge gave in and authorized the proprietors to collect the rents. This brought on him a severe reprimand from the Board. He was asked how he could expect to discover the true assets of the estate if the collections were left to the landlords, and ordered in future to confine himself strictly to the work for which he had been deputed and leave aside everything which ought properly to be the business of the "Foujdari Department". He was to assume direction of the collections again immediately, and do his best to have his allotment and rent roll ready so that the Decennial Settlement should not be more than one year late. These instructions were dated 11th July 1791, eleven months after his deputation. His progress after this was still unsatisfactory. The proprietors would agree to nothing he proposed and in the March following the Board instructed him to complete his allotment as a judicial proceeding, instead of requiring the proprietors to agree to each step as he made it. Even then it was not till October 1792 that he sent in his papers complete. The Board considered them unsatisfactory and the proprietors would not agree to take settlement upon the basis of them. Dandridge was removed and George Thompson, Assistant at Comilla, was deputed in November. He was very successful with the collections and the rent roll, but the proprietors would not at first agree to the allotment. Ultimately, however, they did. Amirābād (of Bhulua) was included with Bhulua in Dandridge's and Thompson's proceedings.

114. Pargana Sandwip had been giving trouble ever since the arrears had been so heavy at the time of the Quinquennial Settlement. Jonathan Duncan, who ultimately became Governor of Bombay, was deputed there in 1777 to make an enquiry into disputes existing with regard to the

Rent roll prepared for Sandwip.  
Duncan's report.

*zamindari* right and a general survey of the local conditions. His long report gives considerable insight into the methods of the Moghul assessments. He goes back to 1662 when the *māl jama*, i.e. revenue from land, only was Rs. 6,667-3-7. It was raised to Rs. 6,976-11-13 in 1692, which figure "appears from the *Kanungoes' daftar* to have been the first aggregate of revenue regularly distributed among and proportionally assessed upon the several villages and *talooks* of which the *pargana* was then composed. It has, therefore, been since transmitted down as the *tuxeemy jummah* or fundamental rental on which all future increases have been rated to the present day". A general measurement was made again in 1716. The "munsiff," no doubt after successfully lining his own pockets, produced a rent roll showing that to impose the customary rates which were apparently in the region of Rs. 2 per *kani* (under 2 acres) for cultivated land would yield only one-third of the *tuxeem jummah*. The authorities thereupon added a *mahtote* (a kind of *āhwāb*) of Rs. 2-4-7 on every rupee of the rent roll. Duncan's observations on the ways of "munsiffs" are interesting as showing why the Company's servants did not advocate wholesale assessments on the basis of measurement with such staff as was available. He speaks of "the almost unavoidable interestedness of the Bengalis which no vigilance can perhaps effectually guard against," and says of the "munsiffs," "these sort of people are ever liable and even for the most part engage in their business with the mere intent of clandestinely receiving money".

115. Duncan's report settled the question of the *zamindari* right and other matters in dispute. He also gave valuable information on other than revenue matters, for example on the extent of slavery and the position of slaves. But the revenue administration of the *pargana* continued to give trouble and ten years later Rawlins was deputed from Chittagong—Sandwip was, as has already been mentioned, then part of Chittagong—to make a measurement of the lands of the *pargana* and prepare a rent roll. This he completed in the season 1787-88 and this was the basis of two annual settlements and then the Decennial Settlement. Rawlins' measurements were executed as carefully and as well as Paterson's and the rent roll was far more exhaustive of the whole assets of the *pargana* than Dandridge's in Bhulūā.

### The manner in which the Permanent Settlement was concluded.

116. There was, as has just been shown, a sound basis for the settlement of Pargana Sandwip. The Collector of Tippera had excellent information regarding Baradākhāt and Gangāmandal *parganas* and a rent roll for Bhulūā not so satisfactory, but still a very valuable document. These three *parganas* covered more than a-third of his jurisdiction. Before the Permanent Settlement was concluded he had held *khās* Dāndrā and Ellāhābād, Jugidiā and Pātikārā, and ever since 1781 Chaklā Roshnābād had been settled piecemeal direct with the *tālukdārs* to the exclusion of the Rājā of Tippera, who received an allowance of Rs. 1,000 per month and was left in undisturbed possession without revenue in the Hill Tracts. He was, therefore, in a much better position as regards real knowledge of capabilities of the estates of his district than Collectors in most parts of Bengal. As it turned out in the cases of several of the other estates, especially the smaller ones, he did not suggest any enhancement of the revenue, and in others his proposals to do so were rejected by the Board, on account of the clause in the rules for the Decennial Settlement, that, where an estate had been held for the 12 years previously at the same revenue, no enhancement was to be made. In cases in which he had no information to go upon his proceedings were arbitrary. The proprietor of an eight-anna odd share of Pargana Torā, whose revenue for the year 1199 B. S. (1792 A. D.) was Rs. 15,000, complained, after McGuire's transfer to Dinajpur in June 1793, that he had kept him 15 days in prison and released him upon his signing a *tāhud* agreeing to the revenue of Rs. 16,500 for 1200 B. S. and Rs. 18,000 from 1201 B. S. onwards. It was found on investigation that he actually was in prison, although it was for arrears of revenue, when he signed the *tāhud*, and was released after doing so. Informed of this the



Board allowed his revenue for 1201 B.S. to stand at Rs. 16,500. The Permanent Settlement was concluded on the report of Parr, the next Collector, but at a rate of Rs. 9-15-0 on every rupee of the *tuxeem jummah*. some old detailed assessment such as Duncan had found in Sandwip.\* This particular co-sharer gained nothing, but rather the reverse, for he had to pay more than the Rs. 18,000 he had originally agreed to. An increase was proposed for Pargana Kadbā, with which were settled Amirābād and Bedārābād, mainly on the ground that, when Wroughton of Mymensingh had handed over "Bhuluā district" to Buller in 1790, he had expressed the opinion that the *mahāl* could bear a substantial enhancement, but the Board vetoed the proposal as the *pargana* had paid the same revenue for twelve years previously.

117. Where many *tālukdārs* claimed the right of separate settlement, it was necessary that the proceedings should be more lengthy. Whether *khārijā*, as such separation was called, was to be allowed or not must have been a matter of considerable difficulty, although not of the same difficulty here as in some other districts, for the *parganas* had remained unbroken and their history was not hopelessly involved. Whether the *tālukdārs* put in petitions for separation must have depended much on the relative power of them and the *zamindars*, but when petitions were received the Collector went into the matter and decided the claims from a historical point of view. Thus, though very few *khārijā tāluks* were separated in Pargana Bhuluā itself, Chakla Ghoshbāg and Tappe Aswadiā, which had been amalgamated with it in 1764, were completely separated and divided into small *khārijā tāluks*. It is at first sight somewhat surprising that the small *tālukdārs* of Aswadiā should have come forward for separation from such powerful landlords as those of Bhuluā. Many of them were no more than ordinary cultivators, and the little estates even at the present day are, as often as not, cultivated by the same persons who pay the revenue direct into the Noakhali Treasury. But Aswadiā was within the "*muklut* lands" which had been held *khās* either under Dandridge or under a *sazāwāl* since 1788. The *tālukdārs* of Ghoshbāg were Muhammadans of some standing and had always been able to hold up their heads. The *tālukdārs* of both Ghoshbāg and Aswadiā claimed separation at the rents they paid in 1764, the *zamindārs* claimed the much higher rents that they had assessed in 1781 but which had never been regularly realized. The separation was finally effected at the average rents realized during the last ten years which were somewhere between the two.

118. There do not appear to have been in Noakhali conspicuous instances of proceedings such as there were in Bakarganj and other parts of the Presidency in which *zamindars* contrived so that the best lands of their estates were separated off in *khārijā tāluks* in the names of their relatives and servants at lower rates of revenue than they should have borne. The proper adjustment of the revenue to be borne by the *khārijā tāluks* was often impossible to determine with the scanty information in the Collector's hands. This and the difficulty of preserving within the bounds of each estate the whole area for which the *tālukdār* had engaged, in the absence of any survey or proper account prepared of the extent of the settlement, is very strikingly illustrated by the settlement of Pargana Amrābād and its history for the next half-century. Amrābād now covers 112,206 acres, or about 175 sq miles, and, as it is not within reach of the sea or of any big river, its area was in all probability the same in 1792. It has already been mentioned that the part of the district it covers was brought under cultivation comparatively late by a large number of small *tālukdārs*. From the account which they gave to Buller and he passed on to the Board in April 1792, the *tālukdārs* had been originally independent. At their request a *zamindar* had been appointed by Royal *firman* to manage the collection of the revenue. The *zamindar* was entitled to an allowance, towards the discharge of which the *tālukdārs* agreed to give up to him the revenues "Buzzerahgong, Amanutpore, etc., in all twelve villages" Tradition current at the present day

\* Vide *supra* §114.



confirms this history and says that the *zamindars* appointed were Amānullā and Chhānāullā, the sons of a Muhammadan *Pir*, Shāh Ambar, after whom the *pargana* was named. The inscription on the mosque at Bazrā shows that it was erected by Amānullā in the Bengali year 1141. Immediately before the Decennial Settlement the *pargana* paid a revenue of Rs. 50,089-6-0. The *tālukdārs* claimed the right of separation. It must have been with respect to Amrābād, although he does not say so, that Buller propounded to the Board in July 1791 the following problem : "The purchaser of a *zamindari* finds that it consists only of *tālüks* of which the owners have the right of separation. Are the *tālüks* to be dismembered, and, if so, how is the *zamindar* to be indemnified?" It was decided that the *tālüks* must be separated, but that the *zamindar* has a right to a permanent allowance, *mālikānā*, or *musāhara*, which was the term generally used in those days. Buller examined the papers of the *kanungo daftar*, the papers maintained by the officers of the Moghul Government deputed in each *zamindari* to supervise maintenance of the *zamindar's* accounts in the matter of revenue, and found that for each *tālūk* there was a definite *tuxeem jumma*\* and "the dues of Government are collected by a *Mahtote* upon all the mufassil *tālukdārs* in proportion to the *tuxeem jumma* of their respective *tālüks* as is also the collection and other necessary and just expenses of the *zamindars* upon the latter rendering an account to the *tālukdars*". After examining what the *Mahtote* (*ābwābs*) paid by the *tālukdārs* amounted to, Buller came to the conclusion that a just assessment on the *tālüks* in separating them would be got by requiring each to pay as revenue "Rs. 150 per *tola* on his *tuxeem jumma*," i.e., that for every rupee of the ancient assessment, whatever may have been its date and original significance, which was used consistently in the *zamindar's* accounts as the basis of distribution of the total dues upon the *tālüks* severally, each was now to pay Rs. 150. He further proposed that the proprietors should be given a permanent *mālikānā* of 10 per cent. of the revenue of the *pargana* before it was broken up. The former proposition the Board agreed to before Buller left the district in January 1792. The Governor-General agreed to the permanent *mālikānā* allowance on 25th April 1794. When *sicca* rupees were converted to Company's rupees the permanent *mālikānā* became Rs. 5,332-15, but at the present day only Rs. 2,823-9 is actually paid. What adjustment has been made it is difficult to discover, but the payment is interesting. Such allowances are not common. There is a similar case in *Pargana Hāzrādi* in Mymensingh.

119. The difficulty of concluding the assessment with the *tālukdārs*, however, had not yet begun. In May 1792, Mc-Guire, Buller's successor, wrote :—

"I have to observe that upon the receipt of your letter approving of the rate of assessment fixed by my predecessor for the *talookdars* of this *purgannah*, I called upon them respectively to enter into engagements for the revenues of their several *talooks* agreeable thereto for the remaining period of the Decennial Settlement, but I am sorry to acquaint you that the *talookdars* have refused to accept of the *summuds* upon those conditions, alleging that their resources are by no means adequate to the payment of so heavy an assessment as Rs. 150 per *tola* of the *tuxeemy jumma* and the only terms they have held out consist of an agreement among themselves to make good the *sudder jumma* namely Rs. 50,000 *sicca* rupees and to pay the *zumeendar* his *moshaira*. I thought it my duty not to accept until I had been favoured with your orders, the more especially as I had received an offer for the *purgunnah* at *sicca* Rs. 70,000 for eight years. The claims of these *talookdars* deserve some attention, particularly when it is considered that the difference between the *sudder jumma* and *mufassil* assessment is upwards of Rs. 56,000. In order to conduct this enquiry with justness and attention to the rights of Government, I beg leave to recommend that the *zumeendary* be held *khās* during the current year."

120. The Board accepted the proposal to hold the *pargana khās* for the time being, but Buller was now on the Board and Amrābād held *khās* for a year. he did not favour any change in the proposal for the Decennial Settlement which he himself had sent up. The Collector was

\* Vide *supra* §§ 114-116

instructed to invite the *tālukdārs* to put forward in detail their claims for reductions from the proposed assessment. There were about 1,600 *tālüks*. Buller's proposals would have given a total revenue of Rs. 1,06,436-11-8. The *tālukdārs'* claims for reductions amounted to Rs. 41,983-3-13.

121. McGuire deputed *āmins* to examine the individual cases, but "as the generality of the *tālukdārs'* claims to deductions for remission investigated. tions were fabricated and they were conscious of not being able to substantiate their assertions, none of them attended the *ameens*, who were in consequence recalled". The extract is taken from a letter written by the Collector to the Board two years later in reviewing what had happened. The Collector's next step was to try to bring the *tālukdārs* to heel by lotting some of their *tālüks* in farm. This he succeeded in doing and it had a salutary effect. *Tālukdārs* who really had good ground for expecting deductions attended *āmins* when these were again sent out. The disabilities on account of which they claimed deductions were in the case of most *tālüks* found to have been greatly exaggerated, but when they were real Parr, who had succeeded McGuire after a short interval, granted remissions freely. The following are specimens of the claims and deductions allowed :—

Claim to reduction.	Collector's orders.
Rs. 37-8 for land impregnated with salt.	<i>Amin</i> reported only 3 <i>kānis</i> out of 13 claimed to be so are really affected. Total remission given for 3 <i>kānis</i> .
Rs. 56 4 for land unculturable as neighbours drive cattle over it.	<i>Amin</i> reports about half is actually cultivated. Assessment only put on cultivated area.
Rs. 66-5 for land waste, as the <i>raiuts</i> have fled away.	<i>Amin</i> reports about a quarter cultivated. Full assessment put on cultivated area and progressive assessment on uncultivated area.
Rs. 43-15 for land covered by <i>nullahs</i> .	<i>Amin</i> reports this is correct. Complete remission is given.
Rs. 108-6 for tanks ...	Remitted.
Rs. 75 for land diluviated ...	Remitted.

The Board confirmed what Parr had done but commented as follows :—

"We cannot but observe with what facility you have proposed to admit the plea of the *tālukdārs* mentioned in your letter to remission from the estimated gross resources of their lands. Had the object been to fix the *jumā* from an ascertainment of the actual produce of the mehaul, it would certainly have been proper to have granted abatements in proportion to the loss that may have been sustained, but as the principle which has been adopted for fixing the assessment makes no provision on the one hand for ascertaining of any concealed advantages which the *tālukdārs* may derive from the produce of their lands, it cannot on the other be expected that we should admit any claims to abatements unless it should be proved that their lands are on the whole inadequate to the payment of the assessment to be fixed on them in conformity to the principle above allowed to, particularly if it be considered that there is every reason to suppose that the necessary provision was made for all such casualties as are mentioned in the statement enclosed in your letter in the original adjustment of the *tuxeem jumma*."

122. In dealing with the *tālüks* which he settled later Parr was rather more strict. The leniency with which the *tālukdārs* Settlement concluded. found that the first to enter into engagements were being treated and the example of the *zamindars* of the *pargana* in coming forward to take settlement of the *tālüks*, which stood in their own names, modified their uncompromising attitude as a body. By September 1794, engagements had been entered into for *tālüks* bearing a revenue of Rs. 10,000, and by the end of October 584 *tālüks* had been settled at a revenue of Rs. 47,741. There was still considerable delay in the case of *tālüks* for which the proprietors had made assignments, as it appears had been their custom, of part of the *taksim jumā* for religious and charitable purposes or in lieu of services which continued to be carried out, for example, by the *Kāzi* of the *pargana*. By September 1795, the proceedings were

pronounced complete, although a certain number of *tāluka*s were still in the hands of farmers and 222 *tāluka*s, all small ones, were never engaged for and some of them were never even found. Their owners possessed other *tāluka*s and had included the lands in them. This, however, was not understood at the time. The total assessment was Rs. 91,733-14.

123. Within a year 7 *tāluka*s were put up for sale for arrears and as there were no bidders they fell into Government's hands. This happened continually during the next few decades, until, by 1837, 355 *tāluka*s had been purchased by Government in this way and held *khās*. The revenue of those held *khās* should have been according to the Permanent Settlement figures Rs. 46,289-3, but the average collections for the 5 years ending 1837 were considerably under Rs. 20,000 and the position began to grow serious. The Collector wrote :—" Estates still continue to fall in arrears, bidders do not come forward, the Government is obliged to buy and in no case is the *jama* under *khās* management found to equal the *jama* paid previous to the sale." It began to be realized that a continual process of fraud was going on. After disposing of part of his land or taking measures effectively to conceal it, a *tālukdār* would deliberately allow his *tāluka* to come to sale and be purchased by Government. The Commissioner, Mr. Harvey, wrote to the Board proposing a survey and "represented it to be his opinion that no specific quantity of land having ever been apportioned to each *tāluka* the Government has a right now to apportion the Decennial Settlement over the *pargana*". The Board could not agree and suggested a survey of such parts of the *pargana* only as were held by Government. Mr. Harvey again urged the survey of the whole *pargana* as being "the only plan by which further usurpations could be prevented". It could not, he said, set right what was wrong, but could prevent the wrong going further. His successor Mr. (afterwards Sir Henry) Richett's proposals were those of a man far in advance of his time. He wrote (May 1841) "a survey on the scale of the Chittagong\* and Tippera maps (4 inches to the mile) will be of no use for this purpose. We must have a plan of each *mahāl*, a field map on such a scale that by comparing it on the ground fields, fences and land marks such as mounds and the like may be recognized . . . . . The Chittagong maps are useless. A person travelling over the country may ascertain from them where he will meet with rivers, mountains and forests, the area of the lands under cultivation and that of waste, but this is of very little practical utility. What we want here is the sort of plan a capitalist would call for before laying down his money for the purchase of an estate. Such a plan alone can assist us in Amrābād . . . . . Fraud and land-stealing appear to be the usual occupations of the inhabitants of this *Pargana*." It is interesting to note that the scale he advocated was larger than that now used in Survey and Settlement Operations. He suggested a scale of three chains to the inch which had been the scale used by the Tythe Commissioners in England and Wales. The proposal was one of the earliest suggestions of a cadastral survey in Bengal such as has now been made in Noakhali, but after some discussion only a *chitha* measurement and no map was prepared. It, however, saved the situation so completely as to indicate what the proper course would have been to adopt in 1794.

124. The history of Amrābād has not been given as that of a typical *pargana*, but rather as a case of extreme difficulty which exemplifies the pitfalls into which the authorities fell through their having attempted the Permanent Settlement without a survey or without a sufficiently detailed investigation. No other *pargana* in either Tippera or Noakhali gave so much trouble. In all the other Noakhali *parganas* with the exception of Tappe Aswadia and Chakla Ghoshbāg, which have already been mentioned, *khārījā taluks* were few and covered only small areas. There was considerable delay in completing the settlement in some cases. Bhulūā and Amirābād were not settled till 1795 when the revenue was determined on the basis of the rent roll of 1201 B.S. in which year the *parganas* were held *khās*. This rent roll was Dandridge's with

Conclusion.

\* The Revenue Survey of Chittagong was then going on.

a few minor alterations. There was litigation going on between some of the proprietors of Bābupur, and as it had fallen in arrears it was ordered to be held *khās* in 1792. By the middle of 1793 a decree had been passed determining the proprietary right in all but a share of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  annas. The Collector took engagements from the proprietors of the  $12\frac{1}{2}$ -anna shares in that year, but the remanning  $3\frac{1}{2}$ -anna share was not settled till rather later. Four annas of Dāndrā and 8 annas of Ellāhābād had belonged to one Muhammad Gāzi Choudhuri, who was convicted of dacoity and other crimes, sentenced to imprisonment for life and his property confiscated. The whole *pargana* was in arrears and was held *khās* for a year, In September 1793, the 12-anna of Dāndrā and one 8-anna share of Ellāhābād were permanently settled with their proprietors, who also took a farming lease of the remaining shares. The last *pargana* to be settled was Jugidiā. It had been losing steadily by diluvion and the proprietors would not bind themselves to any settlement for a period of more than a year. It was held *khās* until 1797, when diluvion began to show signs of stopping and the proprietors agreed to engage, but for a revenue of only Rs. 4,802. The following table shows what modifications in the revenue of the Noakhali *parganas* were made when the Decennial Settlement was concluded. Its compilation has proved a tedious task, for the figures were not available in any collected statement. They have been extracted some from the letters of the Collectors and the Board of Revenue, and some of them have been taken direct from original deeds of settlement found in the Collectorate Record Room. The figures are given to the nearest rupee. In the same table has been given by way of contrast the revenue at the present day. The changes are often due only to the substitution of Company's rupees for *sicca* rupees. Other changes are accounted for by the subsequent fiscal history which will be dealt with in the next chapter.

	Revenue shortly before Decennial Settlement.	Revenue at Permanent Settlement.	REVENUE TO-DAY.	
			Permanently settled.	Temporarily settled.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Bhulūā ...	99,469 (A. D. 1788)	96,340	1,13,136	1,135
Amirābād ...	With Bhulūā	2,006	2,141	9,050
Aswadia and Ghoshbāg ...	Ditto	4,234	4,521	...
Babupur ...	11,874 (A. D. 1792) <i>khās</i> collection less <i>mālikānā</i> .	11,285	14,571	436
Jaynagar ...	9,068 (A. D. 1791)	9,068*	10,153	...
Gopalpur Mirzanagar ...	23,093 (A. D. 1791)	23,093*	21,050	...
Ramchandrapur ...	With Bhulūā	4,186	4,452	...
Joar Bhatra ...	608 (A. D. 1789)	700	725	...
Banchanagar (land attached to Lakshmipur factory).	2,782 (A. D. 1790)	3,265 <i>khās</i> collections A. D. 1793.	224	6,389
Samsarabad ...	485	485	517	...
Shacetanagar ...	3,517 (A. D. 1781)	3,550	7,422	12,877
Kanchanpur ...	3,136 (A. D. 1791)	5,975	6,365	...
Amrābād ...	50,089 (A. D. 1791)	91,724	81,664	...
Dāndrā and Ellāhābād ...	12,171 (A. D. 1791)	13,561 partly farmed	20,282	3,314
Jugidiā ...	6,061 (A. D. 1790) farmed.	4,803	24,782	6,525
Bedārābād, Amirābād and Kadbā.	43,836 (A. D. 1791)	43,836*	45,866	511
Sandwip ...	82,410 (A. D. 1790)	73,411†	91,132	98,043

\* Increase which had been proposed by Collector struck off by order of the Board under the rule that no increase was to be taken when same revenue had stood for 12 years.

† Remission given for *chars* held by Salt Department and others decided to belong to Bhulūā.

The Decennial Settlement only increased the total revenue of the Noakhali *parganas* from Rs. 3,51,653 to Rs. 3,95,032, *i.e.*, by Rs. 43,379. Amrābād alone contributed an enhancement of Rs. 41,635. The revenue realized to-day includes also a permanently-settled revenue of Rs. 3,279 and a temporarily-settled revenue of Rs. 3,72,582 from island formations, generally

called *Jazira*, and *parganas* the bulk of whose revenue is paid in other districts.

125. Some of the *parganas* have not been subject to fluvial action. In their case taking the existing area to be the area at the time of the Decennial Settlement, the rate per acre at which that settlement was concluded is as follows :—

Rate of assessment at Permanent Settlement

Pargana.	Rate per acre.	Pargana.	Rate per acre.
Aswadia and Ghosbāg ...	8 annas	Joar Bhatra ...	6 annas
Babnpur ...	7·5 "	Joar Lakshmipur ...	1·1 "
Jaynagar ...	4·7 "	Kanchanpur ...	8 "
Rāmchandrapur ...	12 "	Amrābād ...	12·9 "
Samsarabad ...	6 "	Bedārābād, Amirabad and	
Banchanagar (held <i>khās</i> ) ...	1 Re.	Kadbā ...	10·7 "

A good guess may be made at the area of other *parganas*, for the extent of subsequent fluvial action affects a comparatively small proportion of the total area of each and its direction is known. The approximate rate per acre at which the following *parganas* were assessed was :—

	Per acre.
Bhulnā ...	6·2 annas
Amirābād ...	3 "
Dāndrā and Ellāhābād ...	5·5 "

A much less satisfactory estimate can be made in the case of Gopalpur-Mirzanagar which had the land it now holds as well as a large block now diluviated south-west of Bhāwāniganj, of Shaestanagar to which accretions began to form before the Permanent Settlement and have continued to form almost ever since, and Sandwip. In the case of these three the rate of assessment was roughly as follows :—

	Per acre.
Gopalpur-Mirzanagar ...	9 annas
Shaestanagar ...	6 "
Sandwip ...	10 "

The average rate per acre for all the Noakhali *parganas* was approximately 8½ annas per acre.

### CHAPTER III.

#### History subsequent to the Permanent Settlement.

126. The fiscal history of Bengal loses much of its interest after the main issue was disposed of by the Permanent Settlement. The years following witnessed the struggle on the part of the landlords against the sale procedure which was adopted when they fell into arrears. It produced almost a panic at first. With the unbusiness-like character of their race the idea that failure to pay their revenues on the date when they became due might lose them their estates for ever filled them with dismay. They much preferred the old system, by which they were thrown into prison when they did not pay, and stayed there till the revenue had been realized. At first, when estates were put up for sale and there were no bidders, it appeared as if they had formed a combination to resist the sale procedure. Regulation III of 1794 exempted landlords from imprisonment for failure to pay their revenues, and the exemption was withdrawn by Regulation VII of 1799. It soon became evident, however, that the landlords had not had sufficient initiative to combine, and that it was not a combination that accounted for the fact that there were so few bidders at auction sales. Purchasers were afraid that the Government would not be strong enough to afford them sufficient assistance and they would be unable to get possession of the estates of the landlords who had defaulted. When the system of revenue sales had become more firmly established, it was hardly ever found necessary to use imprison-

ment as a coercive measure, although it remained legal until 1841. The Collector of Tippera\* thought he saw signs of a combination again when he had called upon all the landlords in the district, by notices served on each of them, to file the information necessary for preparing the first "Quinquennial Registers,"† which were to contain full details of the locality and extent of each estate, and got a reply from not a single one of them. He asked the Board of Revenue in the face of what he considered to be a combination, in which "upwards of four thousand persons are leagued together" to deny him the information he required, to order a fine proportionate to the revenue of each estate to be imposed if the information was not forthcoming within one month of the service of a second notice. The landlords' behaviour in this matter was part of the same passive but unorganized resistance to the new system. That there was in reality any active combination is extremely improbable. It was no more than the manifestation of the dilatory Bengali character in those days, but it cost many of the landlords their estates. At first it was the rule that only such part of an estate, as the Collector thought necessary to sell to cover the arrears, was put up for sale. This part was often an undivided share. A similar procedure was sometimes adopted when the Collector was ordered to realize the amount of a Civil Court decree from an estate, and the procedure undoubtedly did something to increase the evil of coparcenary among the proprietors, just as the policy of putting so many estates up for sale in Calcutta fostered the growth of absenteeism among the landlords. The very salutary procedure by which the Collector called upon joint-landlords to appoint a common manager was dropped after the the Permanent Settlement was established.

127. Before going further to touch upon the various additions to the land revenue which have taken place since the Permanent Settlement, I will mention the separation of Noakhali from Tippera. The Regulations regarding the position of the Company's weavers passed as early as 1786 forbade that any one of them should be confined by his landlord for non-payment of his rent, and were very favourable to them on other points also. The weavers soon began to take advantage of their position, and the Company's commercial residents were always ready to stand to their aid. Frequently, there was somewhat acrimonious correspondence between Scott, the Chief at Lakshmipur Factory from 1787 to 1795, and the Collector of Tippera. Later, the trouble was more often between the Collector and the Salt Agent of Bhulua. The salt workers, or *malangis* as they were called, and their supervisors used very high-handed methods, and the Agent in charge of the manufacture took their part when other persons complained to the Collector. The difficulty which the remoteness of Comilla involved was often being felt. An incident, which opened the eyes of the Government to the maladministration or rather lack of administration in the matter of police and justice at a distance from Comilla, took place in 1815, when two European or Eurasian servants of the Company, travelling by boat with a sum of money belonging to it, were the victims of a dacoity near the mouth of the Meghna and one was killed and the other left for dead. There was much confusion regarding the limits of jurisdiction and such a state of anarchy was said to exist, that in 1819 an enquiry was ordered. Mr. Walters whose name has been mentioned already‡ was deputed to hold charge of all the islands in the mouth of the big river, while making an enquiry and report upon the administration particularly regarding complaints against the police. The islands of Sandwip and Bāmnī, the latter separated from the mainland at that time by a very narrow channel only, were entirely within the jurisdiction of Chittagong. Hātiā was mainly under Chittagong too, but some *chars* which had become attached to it on the north-west were in Bakarganj. Dakshin Shāhabāzpur was within Bakarganj, except for some *chars* at the northern end which were within Tippera. These were the scene of the dacoity of 1815, and immediately after it a "Pharee" or police-outpost from Lakshmipur *thana* had been established on Char Dhunia

\* His letter to the Board, dated 9th July 1894.

† Registers prescribed and intended to account for all the estates in the district and the area they covered and its assets. They were never complete in respect of area or assets in Tippera and Noakhali.

‡ Vide *supra* paragraph 24.



Munia, which, with a few other *chars* all belonging to Pargana Gopalpur-Mirzanagar of Tippera, formed a small block of land isolated among *parganas* under Bakarganj. Walters in his report proposed modification of jurisdiction and made a number of other very interesting suggestions. One of them will be found mentioned subsequently in paragraph 156 of this report. Another is the very same suggestion (there is no new thing under the sun) which Major J. C. Jack put forward in paragraph 120 of his Settlement Report of Faridpur as the solution of the difficulty of adjudicating the rights of landlords to new formations before they and their tenants have recourse to rioting, namely that, as soon as any new *char*, whether an island or an accretion, appears above water, it should be attached by the Collector and administered by him until it has reached such a state of development that the rights of the landlords and tenants can be decided, and the boundaries of their estates satisfactorily defined. Immediate action was taken on the report to improve police administration. Walters' investigation had also brought to light the fact that there was much land which had not been assessed to revenue. Some of it was quite new formation; some was land which the Salt Department had found no longer useful for its manufacture. A "Calories" Committee which sat in 1820 to investigate complaints of the inconvenience arising out of the position of the Salt Agent at Noakhali recommended that he should be invested with certain executive powers. Plowden, the Salt Agent, represented that any such encroachment on the province of the Collector must entail friction, and it was ultimately determined early in 1821 that he should undertake the revenue assessments and that he should for the purpose become Collector for all the *parganas* which might be affected. Thus, Noakhali became a separate district. Plowden took over all the *parganas* the revenue of which is now paid into the Noakhali Treasury together with the two Shāhabāzpur *parganas* and a number of smaller ones so that his jurisdiction covered Dakshin-Shāhabāzpur island and a part of what is now Mendiganj *thana* of Bakarganj. Almost immediately the *parganas* of the latter were retransferred to Bakarganj, but Dakshin-Shāhabāzpur remained in Noakhali district till 1869. The final adjustment of the administrative boundary between Tippera and Noakhali was made in 1875.

Additions to revenue since Permanent Settlement.

128. Additions to the land revenue since the Permanent Settlement have come about in three ways :—

- (1) By the resumption of invalid revenue-free grants.
- (2) By the formation and assessment of new islands and accretions to permanently-settled estates.
- (3) Through the engagements of the Permanent Settlement having been broken and the estate having thus passed into Government's hands.

129. Resumption of *jāigir* began as early as the days of Sultān Suja and was almost complete before the Company obtained the grant of the Dewani. The years before the Permanent Settlement saw the resumption of the *Nawārā Mahāls* (estates set apart for the maintenance of the Moghul Viceroy's Navy) but the Noakhali *parganas* other than Jugidiā were not affected. It was in the thirties of last century that the activities in the direction of the resumption of invalid *lākheraj*, revenue-free properties, were greatest. In all 258 properties were resumed in *parganas* other than Bhuluā, the resumption having been completed in the case of a very large majority of them in the year 1836. The number of such properties found resumable in Bhuluā Pargana was large. When the resumption proceedings were complete the proprietors of the *pargana* came forward with an offer, which was accepted, that they would admit an increase of Rs. 7,000 in the revenue of the estate upon the assessment of the individual properties being withdrawn. In the other *parganas* the resumed properties gave great trouble to the Collector in realizing the revenue, for they were very widely scattered and often very small. One was resumed whose area was less than a-tenth of an acre and more than half were less than three acres each. From the year 1843 onwards a few of the larger ones began to be settled in perpetuity



but the rest were still in the Collector's hands when the Board in 1854 decided to allow the redemption of those which paid revenue of less than one rupee upon payment of ten times the annual dues. Thirty-six of them were redeemed in this manner, but many remained and in the next year the Board decided to grant settlement in perpetuity at the current revenue. In almost all cases the settlement was concluded before 1860. Of the 36 properties redeemed, 3 have not been discovered during the present operation. Their areas when they were resumed were only 3 roods 16 poles, 2 roods 23 poles and 3 roods 16 poles. The area found possessed as belonging to the other 33 is only 55·85 acres. The total redemption money realized was only Rs. 126-7-4. The total area of the 222 properties resumed and settled in perpetuity has now been found to be 7,803·7 acres\* and the revenue paid Rs. 5,276-0-6 annually. The financial result to Government in *lakheraj* resumptions was, therefore, an annual revenue of Rs. 12,276-0-6 including the addition to the revenue of Bhulua, and the lump sum of Rs. 126-7-4 realized about 1854. Seventeen properties now found to cover 5,106·53 acres were determined to be valid *lakheraj* held under grant from the Moghul Emperor. The largest, now entered by the number 29 in the Collector's Register BI, is 3,639·99 acres in extent and was granted in the year 1733. The original *Sanad* enjoined that the lands of the tenants were never to be measured, and the latter put this forward as a ground for excluding the property from the District Settlement Operation. One of the 17 "*Bādshāhi Lākherāj*"† as they are correctly called was not recorded in the settlement record.

130. As might be expected in the district where fluvial action has been so great, there have been many new formations since the Permanent Settlement. Though the area of the district has not increased it has brought a large increase of revenue, for the rates at which new formations are assessed are much higher than the rates of 1793. Proprietors of estates which have suffered from diluvion prefer to continue to pay the full revenue in anticipation of reformation *in situ*, rather than take abatement‡ and lose the right to hold any area which may be reformed without further assessment. There have, however, been a few estates for which the proprietors have been unable to pay the revenue on account of diluvion. These have been sold up and come into Government's hands. The resumption of new formations began before Noakhali became a separate district. The *Jugidiā chars* were taken possession of by the Collector, and between 1819 and 1825 a series of others, Char Shahabikari, Char Goalgaon, Char Hagdi, etc., of the Little Feni river were resumed. The resumptions of this period did not extend to the islands. The new *chars* in both *Hātiā* and Sandwip regarding which Walters reported,§ and the areas which the Salt Department was continually giving up, were not resumed and settled immediately the district was formed, mainly, it appears, for the reason that arrangements could not be made for the scientific survey which was considered necessary. The resumptions were made after Captain Hodge's survey, 1834-46, and were mostly completed in the year 1839. The resumption proceedings, which at that time were by suit, were thorough and covered almost all the unassessed alluvial formations then found. After the passing of Act IX of 1847 further action in this direction had necessarily to wait for the long delayed Revenue Survey which did not reach Noakhali till 1863-65. The Diara Survey of Babu Pārbati Charan Rāy came in 1881-82, but his resumptions were few and small, a strip down the east side of Sandwip, a few small blocks on the Little Feni river, two or three blocks in *Hātiā* and two in the north-west corner of the district. The reason is the same which is to be given for the little resumption made during the present Diara Survey, viz., that quite as much diluvion has been going on as alluvion, and most of the new formations have appeared as islands, possession of which has at once been taken by the Collector. A brief account of most of the resumed alluvial formations appears

One of these, revenue annas 10-4, was not found in the District Settlement Operations.  
 † Four of these properties, although not held under *Bādshāhi* grants, were adjudicated valid *lakheraj*. They are now found to cover an area of 521·84 acres.

‡ A proprietor can obtain abatement for diluvion at the time of a Diara Survey only.

§ Vide *supra* paragraph 127.

later in Part III, Chapter II of this Report, which deals with the *khās mahāls* and temporarily-settled estates of the district, but this does not include 28 estates now covering an area of 19,633 7/8 acres and paying revenue to the extent of Rs. 23,002-6-8 which were originally resumed *diara* estates, but were subsequently settled in perpetuity. Nearly all these settlements were made between 1860 and 1870 and the largest estates so disposed of were those comprising Barakheri, Char Kālī and Sukhchar in Hātīā, Char Hudrākhālī in Sandwip and the permanently-settled shares of Char Shāhābhikāri on the Little Feni river. One *diara* estate thus settled in perpetuity, Char Sunya Algi, has not been recorded in the present Settlement Record. It was diluviated and has not yet been reformed, but the proprietors prefer to go on paying the revenue, only Rs. 7 annually, rather than lose their right to claim the area should it ever reform. The extent to which prospective revenue was sacrificed by these settlements is shown by the fact that some 20,000 acres were leased at a rate of Re. 1-2 per acre which if they had remained temporarily-settled would now have paid revenue at about three times this rate. The premium which was obtained at the time when the settlements were made was a small compensation, for it amounted only to Rs. 22,782 in all.

131. Mention has already been made of the case of Pargana Amrābād. Pargana Gopalpur-Mirzanagar, Sandwip (part of it twice), a one-anna share of Babupur and a certain number of small estates have been purchased by Government for arrears of revenue since the Permanent Settlement, and 4-anna share of Dāndrā with 8 annas of Ellāhābād remained *khās* from 1793 till 1864. As in the case of other estates which were being held direct by Government a number of settlements in perpetuity were made in the period between 1863 and 1870. Most of the purchased estates were disposed of at that time.\* The *Tauzi* Roll contains 18 such estates with a total revenue of Rs. 51,583-13-8 now covering an area of 55,527·42 acres. Again, there was a large sacrifice of a prospective revenue in imposing a rate of considerably less than Re. 1 per acre on such a large area, but there was in this case more compensation in the shape of payment of a cash premium at the time when the settlement in perpetuity was concluded. A total premium of Rs. 1,31,328 is known to have been realized at these settlements.

132. The technical term for a settlement in perpetuity made subsequent to the Permanent Settlement ordered by Lord Cornwallis is a "*Daimi*" Settlement. In these days the collection of rent from the tenants of Government estates is not a matter of great difficulty. Most of what is due is collected within the year and the remainder realized by the certificate procedure within the next few months. The policy of alienating large tracts of Government property by *daimi* settlements now appears the very reverse of economical and to have involved a very large sacrifice of prospective revenue. In the first half of the 19th century, however, conditions were very different. The *Thāk* and Revenue Surveys, which determined the boundaries of estates, only removed part of the difficulty. The difficulty of realizing rents due from tenants who admitted Government as their landlord was the stumbling block. There was a repetition of the struggle against the dilatory unbusiness-like character of the landlords which had taken place in the beginning of the century. To make a proprietary temporary settlement of an estate to which the provisions of the Permanent Settlement Regulation had been applied, although it had afterwards come into Government's hands, would have been legally incorrect. The experience of the farming settlements, which had been the rule, was unsatisfactory. Direct collections from the cultivators had not been successful on the small scale on which it had been tried, and such collection on a large scale was a proposition too fearsome for Government to tackle. It may well have been that in the Chittagong Division the realization of the rent of cultivators more than half a century ago was more difficult than in other parts of Bengal, for the tenants were then, as they are now, probably more astute in avoiding payment than

Cases in which the engagements of the Permanent Settlement were broken.

The policy of the *daimi* settlements.

\* The one-anna share of Babupur had already been settled in perpetuity again in 1848.

in other parts, but the realizations in Government estates were very unsatisfactory. The following table taken from a report made by the Commissioner regarding the collection for the year 1839-40 shows how bad the position actually was at that time:—

District.	Number of estates.	Revenue for 1839-40.	Balance outstanding at the beginning of year.	COLLECTIONS.		Collection charges.	Balance outstanding on 30-4-40.
				For 1839-40.	Against arrears.		
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Bhulua ...	490	1,75,205	2,32,885	1,41,977	26,825	5,583	2,39,288
Tippera ...	654	3,25,218	1,38,314	2,64,091	25,997	9,759	1,76,282
Chittagong ...	331	1,13,670	1,39,544	60,726	28,156	2,462	1,64,311

Several *daimi* settlements were made before the Revenue Survey. They were usually made without any satisfactory survey, and it was a pity that they were not delayed a little longer until that survey was complete. The *Jugidiā chars*, for example, were permanently settled in 1857 and Gopalpur-Mirzanagar at the beginning of 1863. The *Amrābād mahāl*, the Sandwip estates and the 4-anna share of *Dāndrā* were surveyed before the settlements were completed as were most of the smaller purchased estates and nearly all the alluvial formations which were thus permanently settled. The resumed *lakheraj* properties were all *daimi* settled before 1860.

133. Before closing this chapter mention must be made of a proceeding which was the cause of considerable trouble during the Settlement Operations and must have caused a vast deal of trouble to the Collectorate staff and the public since 1887 when it was carried out. In that year, whether to commemorate Queen Victoria's Jubilee or for any reason more nearly connected with the administration of the district, the *Tauzi* Roll was rewritten with all the numbers of the estates changed. In the new roll the large permanently-settled estates paying revenue in 4 *kists* were placed first, after them those paying in 2 *kists*, then those paying in one *kist* and last the temporarily-settled and Government estates. In each class the estates of the same *pargana* were placed together. To this rewritten roll itself no exception could be taken, but the change of the numbers (no conversion tables showing the old numbers against the new and *vice versa* seem to have been kept) renders the *thāk* maps, and not only the *thāk* maps but the *thāk mahālwar* Register and the original Land Registers Registration prescribed by the Act of 1870, meaningless and useless. The numbers by which the estates were described in all the existing registers and documents, numbers which before everything should have been held sacred and inviolate, were incontinently discarded. It was a necessary preliminary to the Settlement Operation to prepare two conversion tables showing the old numbers against the new and the new numbers against the old. This was laboriously done by comparing the new Land Registration Registers with the Registers prepared at the time of the *thāk*. The tables were printed and a few of them presented to the Collector. They are reprinted in Appendix V to this Report. The Collectorate correspondence discloses no reason for the piece of folly perpetrated in 1887, for it cannot be described otherwise, but the same step was carried out in Tippera too and it does not seem improbable that the influence of Chittagong was responsible. These three districts have made up the Chittagong Division since Commissioners were first appointed in 1829. Conditions and methods of Revenue Administration in Chittagong have been unique ever since the district was in the hands of the British, and a proposal which may be unobjectionable in Chittagong may be quite unsuitable to Tippera or Noakhali. There has lately been an example of a proposal made on an analogy with Chittagong methods, viz., the proposal to amalgamate all the *khās mahāls* in Noakhali into one estate in order that the *tahsildār* shall not be required to write up separate *chālāns* in forwarding to the Treasury rents collected from different estates. For the sake of this convenience it was suggested that whatever their origin, whatever the period of the current settlement might

be, whether the estate had ever been permanently settled or not (the law regarding estates of these two classes differs materially on some matters) they should be made one estate and all the documents concerning them filed together in the record room. The orders that were passed in the matter are now being considered by the Board of Revenue to which the case was not originally referred.

134. The fiscal history of the district as far as it is to be discovered may be summarized in the following statement of the progressive increase of land revenue :—

A summary.

Date	Land revenue paid in cash.
1587 ...	85,989 besides <i>jāigir</i> . Reign of Emperor Akbar.
1728 ...	98,287 besides <i>jāigir</i> 56,910. Jaffir Khan Nawab.
1763 ...	6,50,000 including <i>jāigir</i> ; James Grant's figures ; revenue never realized in full.
1795 ...	3,95,032 Decennial Settlement complete.
1842 ...	5,31,775 { Rupees converted from <i>sicca</i> to Company's. <i>Lākherāj</i> resumptions complete. <i>Khās mahāls</i> in unsatisfactory state.
1871 ...	6,41,804 <i>Daimi</i> Settlement complete.
1908 ...	7,24,678
Present day	9,62,854 including assessments made in the course of the District Settlement Operations but not all yet having come into force.

The revenue paid annually for permanently-settled estates now amounts to Rs. 4,51,969 for 1,055 square miles still in existence and on account of a certain area, which has been diluviated, but for which proprietors prefer not to take remission of revenue in the hope that their land will reform. This diluviated area cannot, of course, be accurately estimated, but if all reformed it is unlikely that proprietors would be able to prove a title to more than some 100 sq. miles. The major part of the total land revenue of the district, viz., Rs. 5,10,884, is derived from an area of 398 sq. miles which is not permanently settled. If he had been able to foresee it, the contrast between the rates of assessment in the permanently-settled area and in the area not permanently settled would have surprised Lord Cornwallis.

## CHAPTER IV.

### The History and Tenure System of each *pargana*.

135. In each separate estate its individual history and the fortunes and characters of its proprietors have had a large share in moulding the tenure system. In Noakhali the fiscal system is not of such antiquity as in some other parts of Bengal, and the history of individual *parganas* can be traced far enough back to account for most of the peculiarities of tenure which each shows. In the following paragraphs are given very brief accounts, as far as they are traceable, of the history of each of the *parganas*, pointing out in each case how that history is reflected in the existing land tenure system.

Bhulua and its offshoots are dealt with first. The locality of each *pargana* is shown in the map of which mention has already been made and which will be found in Appendix III to this Report. Statistics of the rents and tenancies in each estate in the district are to be found in the volumes of the *Mahālwar* Statistics which have been prepared, bound and handed over to the Collector. It is to these volumes that I would refer a person interested in any particular estate for detailed statistical information. Statistics will there be found for each estate in the same forms as those which are given for each village in the corresponding volumes of *Mauzāwār* Statistics and for each *thana* in Appendix D to this Report.

136. The approximate area of the several *parganas* in Noakhali district is as follows :—

Area of <i>parganas</i> .		
Bhulua ...	... 317	sq. miles ; 4 sq. miles temporarily settled ; has also about 14 sq. miles in Tippera.
Amirābād ..	... 27	sq. miles ; 6 sq. miles temporarily settled.
Tappe Aswadiā ...	... 6	sq. miles.

Chaklā Ghoshbāg	...	7	sq. miles.
Babupur	...	37	sq. miles.
Jaynagar	...	48	sq. miles.
Gopalpur-Mirzanagar	...	15	sq. miles; has also about 22 sq. miles in Bhola thana of Bakarganj.
Rāmchandrapur	...	4	sq. miles; has some land also in Tippera.
Joār Bhātrā	...	3	sq. miles.
Bānchānagar	...	4	sq. miles shown with Bhuluā in <i>pargana</i> map, Appendix III; almost all <i>khās mahāl</i>
Samserābād	...	2	sq. miles; shown with Bhuluā in <i>pargana</i> map, Appendix III.
Shāestānagar	...	23	sq. miles; 8 sq. miles temporarily settled; has also about 10 sq. miles in Bhola thana of Bakarganj.
Kānchanpur	...	12	sq. miles; has a small area also in Tippera.
Amrābād	...	175	sq. miles.
Dāndrā	...	39	sq. miles; 2 sq. miles temporarily settled.
Ellāhābād	...	7	sq. miles.
Jugidiā	...	41	sq. miles; 9 sq. miles temporarily settled.
Bedārābād and Amirābād	...	68	sq. miles. The same estates cover also Pargana Kadbā about 35 sq. miles in Tippera.
Sandwip	...	249	sq. miles; 90 sq. miles temporarily settled.
Dakshin Sik Chaklā Rasnābād (Tippera)	...	132	sq. miles; a very small area temporarily settled.
Syāmpur (Tippera)	...	2	sq. miles.
Homnābād (Tippera)	...	28	sq. miles.
Pātikārā (Tippera)	...	13	sq. miles.
Dakshin Sāhabāzpur (Bakarganj).	...	13	sq. miles; 2 sq. miles temporarily settled.
Other Tippera <i>parganas</i> , Muhabbatpur, Sagdi, Mehār, Tōra and Singhergāon and Tappe Farrukhabad and Soor Lakshanpur.	...	18	sq. miles.
Jāzīrā (island formations)	...	290	sq. miles. 277 sq. miles temporarily settled.

137. The biggest *pargana* in Noakhali is Bhuluā. There are few *khārijā tāluks* and most of it is included in Estate No. 5 of the *Tauzi* Roll of the district. Whatever may have been the early history of the *pargana*, the Sur family had been in possession for many generations when the British took over the administration of the province. In 1781, the *pargana* was owned in two distinct shares, one rather under 12 annas and the other rather over 4 annas. Eight and three-fourth annas out of the 12 annas belonged to Dharma Nārāian, Prasanna Nārāian and Kalyan Nārāian, direct heirs of the Sur Rājās, while the rest of this share had gone to Nara Nārāian Rāy, a Bikrampur favourite of one of the Rānis who rose to the post of Dewān. Two and three-fourth annas out of the 4-anna share was held by Sib Chandra, a descendant of another Dewān, whose family still lives as he did at Simuliā not far from Sonāimuri, one and a half anna by Nara Nārāian and Bir Nārāian, descendants of an illegitimate child of one of the Sur Rājās, and the small remaining share to the Chaudhuri family which now lives in genteel poverty at Mājdi, north of Noakhali. Nara Nārāian and Bir Nārāian acknowledged no authority and led regular bands of dacoits. Sib Chandra was as bad, and all three were summoned to answer for their misdeeds before the Court at Dacca; but they absconded, and when their property was put up for sale it was purchased by Gangā Gobinda Singha, the Dewān of Warren Hastings and founder of the Pāikpārā Rāj family, in the name of Gangā Nārāian Rāy in 1785. He thus became the owner of a share of about  $3\frac{3}{4}$  annas. Disputes at once arose regarding the lands which were held jointly between the shares. A Mr. Meyer appears to have been deputed to adjust matters in 1787, but he was unsuccessful. The account of the subsequent deputation of Mr. Dandridge has already been given in paragraph

113 above, and the character of the old family of proprietors at that time can be deduced from it.

138. In 1835 the whole *pargana* was sold for arrears of revenue. The Pāikpārā Rājā Sri Nārāian Singha obtained it the same year from Dwārka Nāth Tagore who may have been the real or the nominal purchaser. The whole estate thus came into the hands of an absentee landlord. When he died, his widow, pursuant of his policy of ensuring a regular income, had the whole estate measured and three-quarters of it settled, usually with existing *tālukdārs*, in *patni* right in the years 1842 and 1843. After the death of both the adopted sons of Rājā Sri Nārāian, Iswar Chandra and Pratāp Chandra Singha, the estate was under the Court of Wards from 1866 till 1884 during the minority of Kumars Indra Chandra and Giris Chandra Singha. Soon after the management was taken over by them dissensions arose. A partition suit was instituted in 1889 and the estate was in hands of a Receiver of the High Court pending its disposal. Sir Romesh Chandra Mitra arbitrated in that suit, and by the award, given in 1894, the whole of the family's property in Noakhali fell to the share of Kumar Indra Chandra. He died before the estate was out of the Receiver's hands leaving a will, by which the son his wife should adopt should obtain a 12-anna share and his minor daughter Saraswati the remaining 4-anna. The son adopted was the present Kumar Arun Chandra Singha. Dissensions again culminated in another partition suit in 1908, by which the Kumar kept only 11 annas of Bhulūā proper, but obtained the whole of the family's rights in its other properties in Noakhali, six annas of Pargana Bābupur, the 9-anna share and three-quarters of the 7-anna share of Pargana Amirābād of Bhulūā, the Nilakhi estate in Hātiā and various small *khārijā tāluks*.

139. Though the *pargana* must have been in great confusion when the Pāikpārā Rāj family obtained complete possession in 1835, the *patni* settlements of 1843 and the long period of management under the Court of Wards reduced it to good order. There are now practically no *raiyati* holdings direct under the proprietors. The rent of almost all the *tāluks* is admittedly fixed in perpetuity. Some *tālukdārs* who did not enter into agreements in 1843 claimed, probably with justification, to have held since the Permanent Settlement. Those whose *tāluks* appear in the papers of Mr. Dandridge were certainly right. In the case of a few only is the rent enhancible. The landlord's collections are easy and regular, for the procedure of the *Patni Sales Law* is used inexorably when the rent is not paid. It is much dreaded by the *tālukdārs* who have no such effective weapon that they can use when their tenants do not pay. The *tālukdārs* are of all classes, but the majority are Hindu *bhadralok*. The descendants in the direct line from the Sur Rājās are poor and hold only a few small *tāluks* in Bhulūā and Jaynagar *parganas* round about their old home at Dattapārā, but the Dewanji family of Dattapārā, descended from one Rām Ratan Guha, who was a Dewān of the Chaudhuris about a century ago, are rich and powerful *tālukdārs*. Subinfeudation may and often does extend to three and four grades of *tālukdārs*. *Raiyati* holdings at fixed rates under the *tālukdārs* cover nearly one-fifth of the total area held by *raiyats* under the estate. The average rate of rent paid by occupancy *raiyats* is Rs. 4-5-2 per acre and of *raiyats* at fixed rates Rs. 5-7-6. There is also a large number of "tenures by custom,"\* tenures originally *raiyatis*, but their owners have been promoted to the status of tenure-holders. These cover an area twice as much as that held by *raiyats* at fixed rates. There are many small rent-free tenures, *brahmattars*, etc., in the estate most of which are very old.

140. A block of land in Hātiā now covering as much as 24½ square miles is part of Bhulūā Pargana and belongs to estate No. 15 of the Noakhali *Tauzi* Roll owned by Kumar Arun Chandra Singha alone. Originally, it was much smaller, and on account of accretions its revenue was enhanced by agreement with the proprietor rather before 1840. After that it lost much by diluvion, but lately much of what was washed away has reformed.

\*Vide paragraph 215.



In the new reformatations the proprietor has let out blocks to many cultivators in a joint-settlement and in so doing has laid the foundation of much trouble to himself in the future. Within Bhulūā there are three large *khōrijā tāluks* bearing the numbers 41, 42 and 43, originally separated before 1789 in the name of Gour Chandra and Gour Kishore by the founder of the Dālāl Bāzār family of landlords and forming the core of their property. They cover some 23 sq. miles and lie within a few miles radius from the landlord's house at Dālāl Bāzār. The tenure system in them is complicated, the landlords often appearing again as middlemen and owners of *raiyaṭi* holdings. The number of under-*raiyaṭis* is large and their rents high.

141. Amirābād appears to have been definitely separated from Bhulūā as late as 1777. It belonged to a branch of the family descended from the Sur Rājās of Bhulūā, and it was one of the points in dispute raised by the 4-anna sharer of Bhulūā against the 12-anna sharers at the time of Dandridge's deputation to partition their shares, that Amirābād ought to be treated as a part of Bhulūā in making the apportionment. Although the point was decided against the 4-anna co-sharer, Dandridge collected the rents and prepared a rent roll for Amirābād as well as Bhulūā, and on this rent roll a partition of Amirābād between its 9-anna and 7-anna co-sharers was completed. Both of them were heavily in debt, and either immediately before or immediately after the Decennial Settlement was concluded their shares were sold up for these debts, the 9-anna bought by one Kālītārā Chatterji after whom part of Noakhali town is named and the 7-anna by one Debi Prasād Rāj. The 7-anna share came under the Court of Wards in 1804, the proprietress being a widow, and was let in farm. In 1848 the whole of the 9-anna share was sold to the Pāikpārā Rāj. A 12-anna share of the 7 annas had already been transferred to it some time before 1835. Thus, a share of  $14\frac{1}{2}$  annas has the same history as Bhulūā itself for more than half of last century and up to the present day in this. The remaining  $1\frac{1}{2}$ -anna share belongs to Abdur Rasid Khān of Noakhali who has served in various capacities in the District Board and Municipality and his brother Ābdul Hak Khān. Like Bhulūā the estate is portioned out in a large number of small tenures. The majority of these *tāluks* unlike the majority in Bhulūā are not made subject to the *Patni* Sales Laws. In the case of most of them there are no papers extant giving the conditions nor the date of their creation, but that a large number of them are very old is proved by their being able to be traced in Dandridge's rent roll. The landlords claimed that all the *tāluks* not so traceable are not held at rents fixed in perpetuity, but in fact there have been no enhancements of rent in most of them as far back as they can be traced and it appears probable that Mr. Dandridge's rent roll omitted to include some that were in existence in his time. The most important *tālukdārs* are Rai Rāj Kumar Datta Bahādur of Harinārāinpur and Mr. P. J. Delauney of Comilla. The 9-anna share of the *pargana* now bears the number 3 and the 7-anna share the number 4 on the *Tauzi* Roll of the district. There are few *raiyaṭis* at fixed rates in the *pargana*. *Raiyaṭi* rates are rather high; the average per acre is Rs. 5-14-4 for occupancy *raiyaṭis* in Estate No. 4.

142. Pargana Bābupur was carved out of Bhulūā much earlier than its other offshoots. Some time towards the end of the 17th century one Bābu Khān, an up-country *brahmin* in the service of the Sur Rāj family, was allowed to take a settlement from the Moghul representative at Dacca and named the *pargana* after himself. He died without issue and the estate passed to Mahes Nārāian Chaudhuri, a scion of the Sur Family, and was held by his son Udai Nārāian in 1758, as Grant states, at a revenue of only Rs. 350. He left two sons, Rājendra Nārāian and Pratāp Nārāian, and a grand-daughter Ratnamālā by a third. By compromise the grand-daughter was given a 2-anna share which was separated. The second son died leaving two children, Raj Chandra and Rāj Mohan, who fought with their uncle Rājendra Nārāian in several pitched battles. Stories of this quarrel, the *Chaudhurī lārāi* (war), which is said to have started over a dancing girl, are still told. Rājendra was the victor and appropriated part of the property of the vanquished. Just before the Permanent Settlement the losing side seems to have taken the matter to the Courts



established by the Company and obtained decrees in June 1793 which re-established the original divisions of the *pargana*. After those suits Rājendra Nārāian's 7 annas stood in the name of his daughter's son, Rāj-mohan's  $3\frac{1}{2}$  annas in the name of his widow, Rāj Chandra's  $3\frac{1}{2}$  annas in his own name and Ratnamālā's 2 annas in the name of her son. The *pargana* fell in arrears while the suits were going on and for that reason was held *khās* for 2 years after the disposal of the suits, but, on the proprietors engaging to pay up the balance, permanent settlement was concluded for all but Rāj Mohan's share. That was settled somewhat later. As soon afterwards as 1808 the 7-anna sharer fell into arrears in payment of revenue. The system then in force for realization of such arrears was to put up for sale a share of the property sufficient to bring in the amount due. A share of 1 anna out of 7 was put up for sale, purchased by Government and settled with one Alā Baksha. The remaining 6 annas constitutes the estates now bearing *Tauzi* No. 6. The 1-anna share bears the number 10. The 6-anna share was purchased in 1855 by the Pāikpārā Rāj family. The 1-anna share was again sold for arrears in 1843, purchased by Government and after remaining in *khās* management for 5 years settled in perpetuity once more with one Bhagirāth Singha, Manager of the Pāikpārā Estate. The  $3\frac{1}{2}$ -anna share of Rāj Mohan now bears *Tauzi* No. 7 of the Noakhali Roll. It was sold in 1863 to a Deputy Magistrate who retired with a large fortune and is now in the hands of his son Rāi Rāj Kumār Datta Bāhādur. When the  $3\frac{1}{2}$ -anna share of Rāj Chandra was sold up a share of 1-anna and 19 *gandās* was purchased by Muhammed Kāmel Chaudhuri of Comilla and the remainder 1-anna 11 *gandās* by Government. This share was held *khās* for some time and finally settled in perpetuity with the same Deputy Magistrate, so that it also is in the hands of Rāi Rāj Kumār Datta Bāhādur. It bears the *Tauzi* No. 190. The share of 1-anna 19 *gandās* bears the No. 9. The 2-anna share of Ratnamālā was sold in execution of a money decree and purchased by one Kābil Miān, whose two sons before dying without issue made the property a *wakf*, a dedication to charity and the service of God, which however is nominal only. The *mutawalli*, trustee and manager is one Āzizar Rahamān Chaudhuri. The estate bears *Tauzi* No. 8.

143. Villages of Bābupur Pargana are usually separate from villages of Bhulūā, although not always so. The Bābupur estates themselves are intermingled in the most complicated manner, most of the villages containing numerous scattered blocks (*chaks*) of each. In framing the record-of-rights great difficulty was experienced in separating their lands. The same landlord had often proprietary interests in different shares in more than one estate, and very often in addition middle interests in his own or other estates. There were disputes continually arising between one proprietor and another, and between the tenure-holder holding under one estate and the tenure-holder under another. The documents by which the tenures had been created were usually vague as to the land which was covered and in many cases could not be produced at all. The *thāk* map was advanced in evidence by each interested person whenever it was to his advantage, and as readily contradicted by the same person when his interest was otherwise. The old *chithas*, which some of the landlords possess and are dated earlier than the *thāk*, were found very difficult to understand, but when they were clear they were generally found to be more in-alignment with present possession than the *thāk* maps. The *thāk* survey was done soon after some of the estates had changed hands and before the purchasers had had time to obtain complete information about them, and was for this reason somewhat defective. The whole of Bābupur is let out in small *tālūks* as Bhulūā is. These go by the names *patni*\* and *shikimi*, but unlike the Bhulūā *tālūks* most of them, except in the estate of Rāj Kumār Datta Bāhādur, are not subject to the *Patni* Sales Laws. These *tālūks* can often be traced in the quinquennial papers\* filed shortly after the Permanent Settlement. Subinfuedation often goes to three and four grades of *tālūkdārs* and there are some *raiyaṭi* holdings for which the right to hold at a rate of rent fixed in perpetuity has been given in exchange for a lump sum paid as

\* *Vide* paragraph 164 below.

*salami*. The confusion regarding the boundaries of the *tāluka*s has often been complicated by the action of the proprietors on finding that the cultivated area under the *tālukdār* had increased. A separate agreement was entered into for the area found in excess, without any attempt on the part of either *tālukdār* or landlord to differentiate between the land covered by the original settlement and that held under the new one. It is hoped that in Bābupur the record-of-rights has settled many vexed questions. Its finality is assured by the fact that the papers of those interested are so defective and so difficult to follow that to contradict the presumption in favour of the correctness of the record will prove an impossibility. The area held by *raiya*ts at fixed rates and *raiya*ts promoted to the status of tenure-holders is considerably more than one-third of the whole *pargana*. Rates are higher than in Bhulua, but not so high as in Amirābād.

144. In the year 1774 a large number of *tāluka*s in Bhulua Pargana stood in the name of Jay Nārāian Ghoshāl. He had inherited the already considerable property of his uncle Krishna Chandra Ghoshāl, who had been the Dowān of Mr. Verlost, the Governor of Fort William, and had himself risen to a position of influence as the trusted assistant of Mr. Shakespeare who was President of the Dacca Provincial Council. He succeeded in arranging for his *tāluka*s to be separated from Bhulua, and for their revenue to be paid by him to Government direct. The separated *tāluka*s were made responsible for a single lump revenue and the property was called after its owner Tappe Jaynagar. Jay Nārāian prospered exceedingly and founded the Bhukailās Rāj family, which acquired wide estates including the large *pargana*, Pātikarā, in Tippera and Pargana Rāmchandrapur, another offshoot of Bhulua. The Rāj family found itself in reduced circumstances after the extravagances of Kumār Satya Satya Ghoshāl and his quarrel with his elder brother Rājā Satyānanda. A partition suit between the members of the family lasted from 1872 till 1901 during which time the property was in the hands of various receivers appointed from time to time by the High Court. In the latter year, 1901, Tappe Jaynagar was sold and purchased by Babu Dakshinā Mohan Rāy, son of a successful *vakil* of the High Court. It has now become by inheritance the property of his daughter's son, Bābu Kshitish Chandra Achāriya Chaudhuri of the Rāj family of Muktagāchā in Mymensingh. The tenure system in Pargana Jaynagar resembles that in Pātikarā. Some villages have been let out in *tāluka*s which, however, are not usually governed by the *Patni* Sale's Laws, while in others the *raiya*ts pay rent direct to the proprietor. The old tenures are all at fixed rents, but since 1859 the deeds by which new tenures have been created have shown them to be at rates of rent liable to enhancement. Up to the time of the settlement operation, however, there had apparently been no cases in which they had been enhanced. *Raiya*ts at fixed rents occupy one-tenth and promoted tenure-holders one-seventh of the whole *pargana*. Rates are generally low.

145. Tappe Rāmchandrapur is another offshoot of Bhulua. Bhulua contained *jāigir* lands to the value of Rs. 27,000. Grant gives the figure at Rs. 26,891 for 1135 B. S. (1728 A. D.). Tappe Rāmchandrapur represents a portion of these *jāigir* lands to the value of Rs. 5,000 the rest forming the *Āsta Hōzāri* and *Chaudda Hōzāri-tāluka*s which were not separated from Bhulua. Such being the origin of the estate, as might have been expected, its lands are dovetailed in among the lands of Bhulua and Jaynagar. They lie in Noakhali, mostly in Rāmganj *thana*. The larger part of the original Rāmchandrapur passed before the Permanent Settlement to the proprietors of the Tippera Pargana Pātikarā and, as its revenue is paid along with the revenue of the rest of Pātikarā, it is now treated as part of it. The remainder consists of small estates under which the *raiya*ti rates are low and more than half the *raiya*ts hold at fixed rates.

146. Although Pargana Syāmpur now pays its revenue into Tippera Treasury, it is closely connected in origin with Bhulua. Originally, it consisted of the *jāigir* land of Bhulua and some other *parganas* in Tippera north of it, which was set apart for the *Nauqāra*, that is to say, towards the maintenance of the Moghul

fleet. The Emperor's representative at Dacca drew most of his fleet from round Dacca and higher up the Meghnā. The *jāigir* of the Noakhali *parganas* was almost always military. The origin of Syāmpur accounts for its being, like Rānchandrapur, scattered in small blocks among lands of Bhulūā in Noakhali, and Muhabbatpur, etc., in Chāndpur Subdivision of Tippera. Its lands in Noakhali are usually found leased in small *tāluka*s. *Raiyati* rates are low and one-fifth of the area in Noakhali is held by *raiya*t*s* promoted to be tenure-holders. The main estate bears No. 294 on the Tippera *Tarzi* Roll.

147. How Pargana Gopālpur-Mirzānagar became separated from Bhulūā, of which it is undoubtedly an offshoot, it is now impossible to trace. All that can be said for certain is that it was separated some time before 1728, and in 1763 was held by the same Muhammadan family that owned it up till 1828, when Golām Nabi Chaudhuri, the proprietor, died. In the confusion following his death the revenue went unpaid, and it was sold for arrears to one Kānāi Lāl Thākur. It had been suffering from diluvion and was again brought to sale in 1834 and purchased by Government for one rupee. Settlement was made for one year with one of the heiresses of the old proprietary family, and the next year a survey was made by a Deputy Collector, Nara Nārāian Rāy by name, and the *pargana* held *khās*. In 1842 it was farmed with Mr. George Ley\* who was the Manager of Bhulūā and had bought a share in Pargana Shāestānagar. He died in 1844 and there followed him as farmers a Mr. James Stuart, then one Girendra Nāth Thākur and his heirs. In 1859 some of the family of the original proprietors begged Government to restore the *pargana* to them, and make a fresh settlement with them in perpetuity. This was the era of *Daimi* Settlement and Government accepted the proposition. There were rival claimants and the Collector in 1862 decided in favour of two of them, with whom a *Daimi* Settlement was concluded on January 19th 1863 at a revenue of only Rs. 22,311, lower than that of the Permanent Settlement. That there was a great sacrifice of prospective revenue in this transaction is certain, but there is no doubt that the estate had suffered much from diluvion. The two proprietors had been assisted in obtaining the property by one Ākbar Ali to whom they gave a 2-anna share of the *pargana* dividing the remaining 14 annas equally between them. Ākbar Ali died childless, leaving his share to his brother who was married to the only daughter of one of the two, so that he obtained possession of 9 annas of the *pargana*. But being heavily in debt, he sold 2 annas to the *deswālī* Missir family of Comilla and, later on, the remaining 7 annas to the Chaudhuris of Rāipurā. The other 7-anna share was sold in the next generation to the same Chaudhuri family and recently the Missirs have also sold their 2-anna share to them. They are thus the proprietors of the whole 16 annas. The estate covers a large block of land in Begamganj Thana called Tappe Kālikāpur, another called Tappe Chamrākhola in Thana Noakhali, and another as far away as the northern part of the island of Bhola in Bakarganj. The proprietors disputed with the Bhulūā landlords, the large accretion which appeared on the coast line south and west of Bhabāniganj in the latter part of the 18th century and Barton, the Collector of Bhulūā, in 1792 decided that the western half of Char Bata was their's, but it has all disappeared since. It was because they owned Dhaniā Maniā and the adjoining *chars* in the north of Bhola as belonging to this, at that time a Tippera *pargana*, that the jurisdiction of the police and Magistrate of Tippera were found by Walters to extend to that isolated outpost of the district. It would be interesting to know how it happened that this *pargana* extended so far to the west, but no information on the point is forthcoming. The whole of the Tappe Chāmṛākhola is let out in small *tāluka*s. The original deeds by which they were created are in no case still extant. At attestation the Revenue Officer wrote down the rent fixed in perpetuity, but the matter will not be allowed to rest there. It is probable that many of these *tāluka*s date from the time of Babu Nara Nārāian Rāy's settlement of 1836. Most of Tappe Kālikāpur is covered with similar small *tāluka*s. Of

\* Vide paragraph 157 below.

the block belonging to this *pargana* in the island of Bhola I am not able to speak. The *pargana* forms Estate No. 189 of the Noakhali *Tauzi* Roll. Nearly one-sixth of the whole property in Noakhali is held by *raiya*t*s* at fixed rents and nearly another third by *raiya*t*s* promoted to be tenure-holders. *Raiya*t*i* rates are somewhat higher than in Bhulua.

148. The history of the Permanent Settlement of Amrābād Pargana and of the difficulties which the method of assessment afterwards involved have already been described. After the measurement which followed the discussion described in paragraph 123 above, the *khārijā tāluk* ceased to fall into arrears and be purchased by Government. In those which had never been permanently settled and those which had fallen in before the measurement Government retained the proprietary right, but leased them in farm for 20 years from 1843 to Bagirath Singha who was the Manager for the Pāikpārā Rāj in Bhulua. The lease was extended for another 6 years and finally in 1869 upon payment of a premium of Rs. 80,000 a Permanent Settlement was concluded with the late farmer's widow at a revenue of Rs. 30,300. The estate bears the No. 207 on the *Tauzi* Roll and is generally known as Khās Amrābād or even Zamindari Amrābād, although historically it has little claim to the title being an agglomeration of small *khārijā tāluks*. It still belongs to the heirs of Bhagirath Singha who live in Murshidabad district and leave their property to be managed entirely by local agents. It is the characteristic feature of this estate that there are very few tenures under it, and very few *raiya*t*i* holdings at fixed rates. All the *raiya*t*s* pay rent direct to the landlords. These *raiya*t*s*' holdings can often be traced back to the date when Bhagirath Singha first took his farming lease, and their original agreements purported to entitle their owners to hold for the same 20 years which was the period of the farm. They have, however, never been disturbed since and their rents have in few cases been enhanced. The rents are very low compared with *raiya*t*i* rents in other parts of the district. The average existing rate is only Re. 1-15-3 per acre. As no measurements have been made by the landlords, ever since they have been in possession, it is now found that most of the *raiya*t*s* hold considerably more land than they pay rent for according to their agreements, and the application of section 52 of the Tenancy Act will raise the average considerably.

149. This estate as might have been expected from its history is very scattered. It has land in almost every village of the *pargana* and the blocks of land belonging to it are often very small. The blocks belonging to the rest of the very large number of *khārijā tāluks* which make up the whole *pargana* are usually almost as small. The *thāk* maps of some of the larger villages have as many as three or four hundred *chaks* (detached parcels of land belonging to different estates) and are like cadastral maps in appearance. The *thāk* survey appears usually to have been extremely good and the field boundaries have as usual shifted very little indeed in the 50 odd years since the maps were prepared. Even so, the preparation of the record-of-rights required much care and could not be hurried. Three estates especially gave much trouble. They bear the *Tauzi* Nos. 57, 58 and 89 and are the *tāluks* that belonged to the original *zamindars* before the permanent settlement, set apart for their benefit by the *tālukdārs* when the *pargana* was originally formed.\* As between one and another of these estates, present use and occupation does not in the least conform to the *thāk*. The proprietors' agents maintain that the *thāk* is defective, that it was prepared at a time when the estates had been changing hands often and their owners could not correctly point out which land belonged to which. In the villages near Bazrā where most of the land is situated, the record as prepared does not follow the *thāk* map at all. There is a great deal of subinfeudation in these three estates, middle rights extending to five and six grades before the *raiya*t*i* is reached. The proprietors are absentees who leave everything to poorly-paid and unscrupulous local agents, and the resultant confusion is worse than

\*Cf. Paragraphs 118 and 122 above.

in any other property in the district. A record-of-rights was very badly needed and will be found of great value to every honest man concerned. The three estates cover about 15 sq. miles.

150. Pargana Jugidiā is one of the military settlements placed in the path by which the Arracanese must enter Bengal if they came by land. It existed as a separate *pargana* at the time of Todar Mal's assessment, and at that time and for some time after was probably much larger than it is now. Its revenue for the year 1140 B.S. (1733 A.D.) was as much as Rs. 16,985. How it suffered after that from diluvion has been already mentioned in paragraph 23. A picturesque tale is told to account for the division of the *pargana* into three shares, that one-third went to the Dewān, one-third to the physician and one-third to the son of a murdered priest, while the *zamindar* retired into obscurity to lament the murder he had committed. But it is not to be accepted as history. The three shares, the *Muktā*, *Sonā* and *Rāmā Tarafs*, existed before the Permanent Settlement and the number of co-sharers, which is now more than 150, was large then. The estate had almost been diluviated, but immediately after the beginning of the nineteenth century reformation was rapid. Disputes regarding new land began as early as 1802. The right to the reformations was decided in favour of the proprietors by the Governor-General in Council in 1819 after an enquiry and measurement by Charles Tucker begun in 1815. Although an order had been passed that Permanent Settlement was to be concluded, the numerous co-sharers could not agree to take it. Their dissensions took them to Court. The new lands were attached and the management was in the hands of the Collector till 1834, the Salt Department using part of them. In 1835 the Salt Department finally left them and the Collector leased them in farm to Patrick Jackson, son of a European, who had settled down not far from Lakshimpur as early as 1794. He could not make them a paying concern, gave up his farm in 1838, and they were leased to one Raghunāth Basu of Faridpur district who held them till 1846 and his brothers till 1855. In 1856 two of the co-sharers of the *zamindari* took a lease in which they were described as *sarbarākārs* and *ijārādārs*. The next year they entered into agreements for the Permanent Settlement as *sadar mālguzārs*\* for all the proprietors. The original Permanent Settlement of the part of the *pargana* which had never been diluviated was for Company's rupees 5,122. The net revenue of the Settlement concluded in 1857 for the whole *pargana* was Rs. 24,782. There was no measurement made at the time the Settlement was concluded, and, as there is now no other means of determining what area that Settlement covered, the lines of the Revenue Survey some seven years later determine its extent. The system of management by a *sadar mālguzār* has been continued to the present day. When one incumbent dies or retires his successor is elected by all the co-sharers. As the Baidya family of Durgāpur, *thina* Mireswari, in Chittagong has most of the votes, that family's nominee usually becomes *sadar mālguzār*. Beholden to them he has to fill most of the posts of *naib*, *tahsildar*, etc., in the estate with members of that family also, and, even if he would, is unable to manage the estate with a firm hand for the good of all those concerned. Mismanagement is the rule. Many tenures at low rentals have been created in the names of members of this family and by the *sadar mālguzārs* in their own names for their own advantage. There was a record-of-rights prepared in the years 1893-95 for Char Parbati, a large village in the estate covering as much as 4,326 acres. The record has been regularly used in the management of the estate and the tenancies are distinguished by the numbers against them in that record. It has been the rule apparently to lease out new lands at fixed rentals wherever tenants can be found, to put down a sufficient lump sum by way of *salami*. The tenures created are usually designated *kāola*, but by whatever designation they are known practically none of the Jugidiā tenures are subject to the *Patni* Sales Laws. The existing *raiya* rate is at an average of Rs. 5-3-10 per acre, the rates realized by some of the tenure-holders being very high indeed. Owing to the bad management of the proprietors a *diara* estate,

\* *Vide* Regulation VII of 1822.

Char Khandakar, belonging to Jugidiā Pargana was in 1912 ordered to be held *khās* by the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam and no offer of Settlement was made to the proprietors.

151. There are three *parganas* which are each covered by four estates of the Noakhali roll, bearing the numbers 21, 22, 23 and 24. They are Bedārābād and Amirābād —this Amirābād to be distinguished from the offshoot of Bhuluā bearing the same name—in Noakhali, and Kadbā in Tippera. All three march on Chāklā Roshnābād, the property of the Rājā of Tippera, and were in all probability originally part of his property. It is possible, however, that part at least of Bedārābād may have belonged to Dāndrā and part of Amirābād to Jugidiā. In the 18th century the three *parganas* were in the hands of distant connections of the family ruling in Tippera and as far back as their history can be traced with certainty all three *parganas* were owned by the same persons and treated as one property. It has already been mentioned that at the time of the Permanent Settlement no enhancement of revenue was put upon these *parganas* as they had paid the same revenue for more than twelve years previously without change. Still, although there was no enhancement, it was not many years before the proprietors were in difficulties. The property devolved upon four persons and their four shares constituted the estates which now bear the *Tauzi* Numbers 21, 22, 23 and 24. About 1830 P. F. Courjon, a Frenchman of great ability, the story of whose landing in Chittagong and rapid rise from employment in the office of the Collector of Tippera to Manager of Chāklā Roshnābād for the Tippera Rāj and finally to the position of a wealthy *zamindar* is a romantic one, purchased the two estates which now bear the numbers 22 and 23 at sales for arrears of revenue. Later, he acquired by private purchase a share in estate No. 21. Estate No. 24 and the rest of estate No. 21 had passed to other hands. He died in 1859, and either he or his executors had by 1861 obtained permanent tenures, *Patni*, *Dar Patni* and *Sepatni*,\* in all the shares for which they had not purchased the proprietary rights. When the dead man's property was divided between his sons, Alfred and Eugène Courjon obtained a half-share each of these three *parganas*, Achille, the second son, being given property elsewhere. The sons, especially Eugène and Achille, shared their father's business capacity and skill, but they were extravagant, quarrelled among themselves and spent large sums in litigation. Alfred Courjon in 1865,

The *Kaimi* Settlement of 1865. in order to raise money, took advantage of a custom which already existed in Noakhali by which a *raiyyat* could obtain the status of a tenure-holder with rent fixed in perpetuity by a lump payment to his landlord. He made settlement of his undivided 8-anna share over the whole of the *parganas* in perpetuity at a rental which he somewhat enhanced, taking two years' rent from each tenant as *salami* at the same time. Before this time the tenants were described as *jimbādārs*, but if the Tenancy Act had been in force then they would almost all have been classed as *raiyyats*, for almost all cultivated by their own labour the lands for which they paid rent. In the new Settlement the tenants were described as *shikmi tālukdārs*, given the right to hold at fixed rents and the right to dispose of their *tāluku*s by sale or otherwise as they thought fit. The agreements contained the provision that the *tāluku*s should be liable to be sold up under the *Patni* Sales Laws (this, however, has never been done in any case), very hard provisions regarding interest to be paid on arrears of rent and the clause that, although the tenant should be liable to pay enhanced rent for increase of area found on measurement, he was barred from claiming reduction of rent if the area was found to have decreased. In a certain number of cases joint-settlement was made with a number of cultivators for the lands in their possession. In a few others settlement was made with one who realized rent as a middleman from the others. Immediately after concluding this settlement Alfred Courjon gave a permanent lease of his 8-anna share in all four estates to his brother Eugène. It was only four years after that Eugène Courjon, who had fallen into the same

\*A *patni* is a permanent first grade tenure with certain special incidence; a *darpatni* is a similar assignment made by the holder of a *patni* to a second grade tenure-holder; and a *sepatni* carries the sub-infeudation one step further.



straits as his brother, adopted the same plan. He made settlements in perpetuity with the tenants on similar terms but at somewhat higher rates of rent. Generally, the persons who took the settlements under the two 8-anna shares were identical, but in some instances of joint-settlement by a number of cultivators they entered into agreements in different permutations. If A, B and C had taken a joint-settlement in 1865 and D a separate settlement, A and B sometimes took a joint-settlement in 1869 and C and D another.

152. At the time of the *Thāk* Survey, 1862-64, the lands of the four estates, 21, 22, 23 and 24, were shown separately in Pargana Kadbā and Pargana Bedārābād, but as their joint-property in Pargana Amirābād. The land of all four estates now treated as their joint-property. They may have been completely separated earlier in all three *parganas*, but the tenants' holdings at the present day, the boundaries of which are those of possession crystallized in the settlements of 1865 and 1869, pass across the lines which are shown as estate boundaries in the *thāk* in Bedārābād and Kadbā and show no signs of a tendency to be bounded by them. It is, therefore, probable that the partition had never been firmly established or had rapidly disappeared when the landlords in the four estates were no longer separate persons. The *thāk* surveyors worked from north to south. They may well have come to the conclusion after what they had seen in Bedārābād that it was waste of time to try to separate the estates in Amirābād which lay to the south of it. Be that as it may, there is now no longer any trace of separate property of the four estates according to the landlords' and tenants' use, and the record-of-rights shows the estates as joint throughout.

153. Eugène Courjon and his executor after his death mortgaged his property to Mahārājā Durgā Charan Lāhā of Calcutta and in 1892 all that had been Alfred Courjon's interests were sold outright to him. In 1898, what had been Eugène Courjon's interests were assigned to him by a single agreement by which he should be responsible for all revenue, rent and cesses due and to hand over a certain sum annually to Eugène Courjon's heirs. Thus, the whole rent of the tenants in the three *parganas* is now paid to Krishna Dās Lāhā and others, the heirs of the late Mahārājā.

154. During the times of the later Muhammadan Governors of Bengal the revenue of Sandwip was collected, justice administered and the *pargana* virtually governed by an officer with the title of *ādhādār*. He had with him a *dāroqā* and these two forced the *zamindars* to take a back seat. In 1763 one Bishnu Charan Basu was registered as *ādhādār*, but his power was really in the hands of Gakul Ghosāl, Mr. Verlest's *banyan*. His oppressions caused a rebellion in Sandwip in 1767 in which one at least of the *zamindars*, Abu Taraf Chaudhuri, was concerned. It was suppressed by a Captain Nollikins with a small force, but had the effect of bringing the complaints of the Chaudhuris of Sandwip into the light. Gakul Ghosāl by fraud and force had acquired nearly twelve annas of the *zamindari*. As soon as Mr. Verlest retired the matter was put before Muhammad Rezā Khān who ordered the Chaudhuris to be reinstated. Mr. Kelsal, the Supervisor in Dacca in 1770, however, enquired and decided in favour of Gakul Ghosāl. The post of *ādhādār* was abolished in 1772, but the disputes regarding the *zamindari* rights were by no means settled. When the Quinquennial Settlement, which was from the Company's point of view a conspicuous failure in Sandwip,\* was drawing to a close and settlement with the *zamindars* was again the accepted policy, the trouble blazed anew. It was only settled after the deputation of Jonathan Duncan in 1777 to make an enquiry on the spot.† The Board of Revenue's final orders were delayed till 1784 when their effect was that all the proprietors were reinstated except Abu Taraf whose share of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  annas remained with Gakul Ghosāl in the name of Bhawāni Charan Dās.

155. The *pargana* consists of three "*Chaklas*" corresponding originally to the three big islands and named after them Chāklā Niz Sandwip, Chāklā

\* Vide *supra*, paragraph 104.

† Vide *supra*, paragraph 114.



Hātiā and Chāklā Bāmni, but the shares into which it was divided extended in the same manner over all three *chāklās*. At the time of the Permanent Settlement the sharers in the name of each proprietor were as follows :—

Bhawāni Charan	...	...	...	4 annas	2½ gandas
Muhammed Hossein	...	...	...	4 "	1½ "
Muhammed Wāsil and Muhammed Ākbar	...	...	...	2 "	10½ "
Koresha Bannu	...	...	...	2 "	10½ "
Rām Chandra Ray	...	...	...	1 anna	7½ "
Rāj Dullab Ray	...	...	...	1 "	7½ "

The revenue shortly before the Permanent Settlement, based upon Rawlins' Survey and allowing the proprietors only 20 per cent. of their collections from their *tālukdārs* was very heavy. There was a slight reduction before the Decennial Settlement, but the sea soon began to take toll especially of the land of Hātiā and the revenue demand could not be met. Between 1816 and 1818 the shares of Muhammed Wāsil, Muhammed Akbar, Koresha Bannu, Rām Chandra Ray and Rāj Dullab Ray were put to sale and all purchased by one Prān Krishna Biswās. What he purchased, amounting to 7 annas 15½ gandas, still goes by his name, Taraf Prān Krishna Biswās, the other shares being named Taraf Bhawāni Charan and Taraf Muhammed Hossein. Diluvion was especially heavy in the third decade of last century, and by 1829 all three *tarafs* had been put up for sale for arrears and purchased by Government. Rājeswari Debi, the heiress of Taraf Bhawāni Charan, had in the meantime in a case over some other property got a decree for mesne profits to the extent of a lakh and three-quarter rupees against Government in the *Sadar Dewāni Ādālat*, and contested the sale, claiming that, before the *taraf* was knocked down to Government in auction, the decretal amount should have been set off against the arrears. Ultimately, a compromise was reached, and in satisfaction of the decree Taraf Bhawāni Charan was promised to be returned to its former owner. It had been determined to survey the whole *pargana* in detail, and while this was being done it was agreed that Government should continue to hold Taraf Bhawāni Charan for the proprietor with the rest. A topographical map was prepared by Captain Hodge in 1834-36 supplemented by Lieut. Siddon in 1839-40, while in 1835 F. J. Halliday (afterwards Sir Frederick Halliday, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal) began a measurement in the native style of the area cultivated by the tenants, which was revised by Dampier in 1836-37. Dampier proposed that after handing over Taraf Bhawāni Charan to its owner the rest of the *pargana* should be farmed for a period of 30 years. This long term was not acceptable to Government, but, for shorter periods, apparently without remeasurement or readjustment of the revenue when settlement was renewed, one Nicholas Joachim held the farm for nearly 30 years. In 1870, Government's share was permanently settled with the highest bidders, the Ccurjōns, Mr. Delauney and Sib Dulāl Tewāri of Comilla. Taraf Bhawāni Charan bearing *Touzi* No. 14 extends to all three *chāklās*. The remaining share is covered by a separate estate in each of the three. In Chāklā Niz Sandwip it is estate No. 210, in Chāklā Hātiā, estate No. 212 and in Chāklā Bāmni, estate No. 211. The same share in Char Siddhi was separately settled and became estate No. 197. The estate No. 16 called Nilām Bhawāni Charan represents a share of 1 anna gandas 1 krant and 10 tils in Chāklā Bāmni, a part of the estate which, according to the usage of those days,† was put up for sale and sold to recover an amount of revenue which fell into arrears before the year 1829, when the whole of Taraf Bhawāni Charan was sold. Taraf Bhawāni Charan and Nilām Bhawāni Charan were purchased in 1876 by Mrs. E. J. Delauney and Muhammed Gāzi Chaudhuri. The latter sold his share to the Tewāris. In the Permanent Settlement of 1870 various accretions round the north and east of Sandwip and Bāhir Charā in Bāmni were not included. The account of these and the accretions which took place afterwards will be found in Part III, Chapter II of this Report. Mainly on account of diluvion, but partly because the tenants were

° Vide *supra*, paragraph 115.

† Vide *supra*, paragraph 126.

such difficult people to deal with the proprietors found it better to allow estate No. 197 in Char Siddhi and No. 211 in Chāklā Bāmni to be sold for arrears of revenue in 1900. They were purchased by Government as there was no bidder. Very little is left of Char Siddhi now, but estate No. 211 is a valuable *khās mahāl* property.

156. Rawlins in 1789 found that the area then in cultivation belonged to *tālukdārs*. At the time of Dampier's investigations a Deputy Collector named Bruce worked in Chāklā Bāmni and the papers of that *chāklā* contain his name instead of Dampier's; the *tālukuks*, which could be traced in Rawlins' papers to a time before the Permanent Settlement, were recognized as being *tālukuks* of which the rent was fixed in perpetuity. Some of them were found to cover a very much larger area than they had covered at the time of Rawlins. In the case of these *tālukuks* a new rent was settled in one lump sum for each, consisting of the rent settled by Rawlins with an additional rent for the area found in excess. The proprietors who purchased Government's share in 1870 always created permanent tenures whenever they could obtain the premium, generally no more than two years' rent, which they asked, and almost the whole of Chāklā Niz Sandwip and Chāklā Hātiā is parcelled out in permanent tenures at fixed rent. In Chāklā Bāmni most of the tenants hold at fixed rates under Taraf Bhawāni Charan, but in estate No. 211 Government recognizes only the tenures that were measured by Rawlins as so hold. In the case of *tālukuks* part of whose land was measured by Rawlins, the precedent created by Dampier's procedure is followed in the revision of the revenue. There are no *tālukuks* of the Decennial Settlement in Char Siddhi, for the whole *char* formed later than 1793. The *tālukuks* in the *pargana* are remarkable for the number of co-sharers which are frequently found in possession of them. A man who cultivates a plot which he purchased belonging to one of the *tālukuks* frequently does not know the names of half the co-sharers and is very doubtful what amount of rent he ought to pay. Rent collections in Sandwip are often very difficult for this reason. There has been a considerable amount of diluvion, the proprietors of estate No. 210 have no part in the accretions which form on the east of the island, the only side which is not being cut away, and their profit is not large. It is probable that they would have done better to have let estate No. 210 go and kept their estate No. 211 in Chāklā Bāmni. The complicated nature of the tenures in Sandwip and the consequent difficulty in collecting their rent is partly due to their age, but the character of the *tālukdārs* is also to a large extent responsible. The latter know full well the landlords' difficulties, are litigious to an extreme and delight to have their landlord sue them for rent and give them the pleasure of cheating him if they can by any of the shifts they know so well how to practise in the Civil Court. Their character in this respect is not a recent development. Walters' enquiry into the state of administration among the islands in the year 1819 has already been mentioned in paragraph 127 and will be found mentioned again in paragraph 301. He found that the landlords had difficulty in realizing their rents from the *tālukdārs* either amicably or through the Courts and it was one of his proposals that all *tālukuks* in Sandwip should be made subject to the provisions of Regulation VIII of 1819. This proposal is the probable origin of the peculiar usage in Noakhali district by which *hāolās* and even *raiyaṭs* in Government estates on the island are brought to sale for arrears of rent at the *Patni* Sales. The practice goes further than Act VIII of 1865 provides for its extension.

157. Pargana Shāestānagar should not be considered an offshoot of Bhulūā. Its lands were islands and new formations in the mouth of the Meghna not yet colonized when it was granted by Shāestā Khān, after whom it is named, to Rāmānanda Rīy Dewān for meritorious service. The fifth in descent from him, rather before the Permanent Settlement, divided the *pargana* between his children, giving the two sons each a 7-anna share and the daughter 2 annas. The daughter's share passed to the heir of one of the sons either

by gift or purchase, and the 9-anna share which constitutes the estate bearing *Tauzi* No. 20 was thus formed. The remaining 7-anna share bears *Tauzi* No. 19. The 9-anna share devolved on a widow and was under the Court of Wards for some 15 years up till 1833 when it was released, the widow having adopted, perhaps unwillingly, one Pāndab Chandra Rāy, a masterful young man, a Shāhā by caste. The 7-anna share was put up for sale for arrears of revenue and purchased by a European named Ley who was Manager of the Bhulūā Estate at the time. He failed at first to get possession at all against Pāndab, who had usurped the whole *pargana*, but ultimately, partly by taking advantage of quarrels between the widow and her adopted son and partly by force—there are various stories told of how it was done—got possession not only of the 7 annas which he had purchased, but of 5 out of the 9 annas as well, leaving Pāndab with only 4 annas. This 4 annas is at present in the hands of Rāi Bāhadur Pyāri Lāl Rāi Chaudhuri, his adopted son, who lives on the estate, manages his own property and is much respected and looked up to by his tenants. The 12 annas was sold by Mr. Ley to an uncle of his and by him to Dwārakā Nāth Tagore of Calcutta from whom it passed to his daughter and thence to the present proprietors who are absentees living in Calcutta. The estate consists mainly of *raiyaṭi* holdings held direct from the proprietors. There are some *hāolās* which in the newer formations are large ones. The *pargana* contains no such *patni* and *shikmi* tenures as it is the rule to find in Bhulūā.

158. Pargana Dāndrā did not come within the operation of the District Settlement. The *pargana* has been fully described in the Final Report of the Dāndrā Petty Settlement which has lately been written by Khān Sāhib A. K. Kabiruddin Ahmed. A record-of-rights has been prepared for Ellāhābād which is in origin a part of Dāndrā, and has share' s history. The lands of this small *pargana* are intermingled with those of Dāndrā and the system of land tenure is the same in them both. About one-fifth of Ellāhābād is held by *raiyaṭs* promoted to be tenure-holders. *Raiyaṭs* at fixed rates are few and the rate of rent of *raiyaṭs* generally is low.

159. All Chhāgalnāiā Thana is within Chāklā Roshnābād as has already been mentioned. The *pargana* or *parganas*, for Tippera *parganas* ; Roshnābād. several district *parganas* are included by the term Chāklā Roshnābād, have been fully described in Mr. J. G. Cumming's Settlement Report dated 1898.

160. Pargana Homnābād extends into Noakhali and its tenure system there, as in the large area it covers in Tippera, is usually simple. The estates are intermingled in a very complicated manner, but the *thāk* maps were good ones and there was not found much difficulty in distinguishing which lands belonged to which. Most of the estates are in the hands of the Muhammadan *zamindars* of Paschingāon, Nawāb Syed Hussein Hāidar of Comilla, and Badarennessā Chaudhurāni of Paschingāon being the most important. Tenures are comparatively infrequent and the *zamindars* have a firmer hold over their *raiyaṭs* than is usual this side of the Meghna. Disputes arose regarding certain farming leases given by the landlords for 50 years which expired in the Bengali year 1318 (A. D. 1911). The farmers maintained that the leases were leases in perpetuity and in some cases the landlords were unable to produce the original documents. In all the villages in Noakhali the decision went against the farmers.

161. Pātikārā Pargana is the only other Tippera *pargana* having extensive lands in Noakhali. These lands were originally part of Tappe Rāmchandrapur. Pātikārā is the property of the Bhukailās Raj and is in the hands of the Court of Wards. Usually whole villages are either held by *raiyaṭs* direct under the estate or leased in single tenures. A record-of-rights was prepared for the "*khās*" villages, those held by *raiyaṭs* directly under the estate, and completed in 1904. Most of the *tālūks* date from 1858 when Rāja Satya Charan Ghosāl raised nearly a lakh and a half of rupees as premium for such settlements in the *pargana*.

162. In the north of Rāmganj Thana there are small areas belonging to the Tippera *parganas*, Mehār, Tora, Singhergāon, Pargana Mehar, etc. Tappe Farrukhābād and Joār Lakshanpur, but they are so small that I do not propose to describe the *parganas* here.

163. One village Kātā Mobārakghona at the junction of the Muhuri river and the Big Feni river originally belonged to Chittagong. It is covered by *Noābād Tāluka* of the type prevalent in Chittagong and was measured at the time of the Chittagong Settlement.

164. North Hātiā contains two villages, Char Mehar and Char Abdullā, belonging to Pargana Dakshin Shāhābāzpur, a Pargana Dakshin Shāhābāzpur. Bakarganj estate under the management of the Court of Wards. Most of the remainder of the district consists of formations which were resumed as islands and are the property of Government. The description of those is left for another chapter (Part III, Chapter II).

## CHAPTER V.

### Statistics of Tenancies and Rents.

165. The "estate bundles" in the Collectorate Record Room, which contain all the official documents in connection with its fiscal history extant regarding each estate, have been examined, and the estates classified according to their past history in a Calendar of Estates, which has been prepared and made over to the Collector. In the case of each estate it has been mentioned whether "quinquennial papers" exist or do not. Some such papers are found for most of the estates transferred to Noakhali when it became a separate district in 1822, but even at that time the files of them were in a very bad condition. The first Collectors of Noakhali complained bitterly of the condition in which these papers were made over to them, that they were disordered, incomplete, had been attacked by white ants, etc. Very few originals exist. They were replaced soon after Noakhali became a district by fair copies. In the case of none of the estates does it appear that any statement of area was given. The earliest Quinquennial Registers were written up in two volumes in Persian in 1203 B. S., i.e., 1793, the headings being as following forms :—

(1)	(2)
1. New Number.	1. New Number.
2. Old Number.	2. Old Number.
3. Description of property.	3. Description of property in first Register.
4. Name of landlord registered.	4. Landlord registered.
5. Name of anyone objecting.	5. <i>Mauzas</i> , <i>dihis</i> , and <i>tappas</i> .
6. Name of <i>Sarbarākār</i> .	6. Number of <i>mauzas</i> .
7. Amount of <i>Sudūr Jama</i> .	7. Result of enquiries into condition of land— (a) Cultivated. (b) Uncultivated.
8. Statement of <i>mauzas</i> included— (a) Number of <i>mauzas</i> . (b) <i>Jama</i> of each.	8. Result of enquiries into mufassal realizations— (a) Year. (b) Amount in money.
9. Number in next new register to be written.	9. Number in next new register to be written.

In the first register column 8 is often blank, column 9 always. In the second register against each entry in column 1 there are entries in separate lines in column 5, and the figures in subsequent columns refer to the *mauza*, *dih* or *tappa* in column 5. Columns 7(a) and 7(b) are always blank. There are entries in column 8(b) for most estates, but no date is given in column 8(a). Both registers were rewritten in 1207 B. S. and the first register about every five years afterwards. The second register was not rewritten again. It will be noticed that no figures for area are given in

either register. The papers filed by the landlords from which the registers were written, the "quinquennial papers" of each estate, are in a number of different forms going by various names. "*Hakikat Sthit, Tāhut Milāni, Ismābisi-Mauzāwār, Hakikat Jamābandi* and *Hakikat mauzāwār kismatwār jamā jami sthit* are the headings of the most important ones. The forms were apparently left for the *zamindars'* agents to devise, and are so unbusiness-like that one is tempted to imagine that they were intended to give as little information in as unintelligible a form and as large a bulk, as possible. There was, however, no such intention. Even to-day landlords' accounts of their property and collections maintain almost the same unbusiness-like character. There are no *chāuhaddibandi* papers in Noakhali to show by giving the four boundaries of each the manner in which the "*mauzas*" fitted together. The word "*mauza*" had not then the significance which it has now when it is translated into English as "village". It meant a self-contained block of land belonging to the same estate. It was the adoption of the word by the Revenue Survey authorities to signify one of their survey units sometimes containing parts of several estates that gave it its modern significance. This fact should not be forgotten in examining any Collectorate papers dating from before the Revenue Survey. There are some returns filed by the owners of Amrābād *tāluka*s which are to be found in the estate bundles and are interesting in view of the manner in which the Permanent Settlement was concluded in that *pargana*. They give a distribution of the *taksim jamā* of each *tāluka* over the "*mauzas*" belonging to it. Specimens of the "quinquennial papers" of Noakhali are interesting as curiosities, but the papers are in reality worthless. The Registers of *Tōidāds* of rent-free grants filed by parties under the provision of section 24 of Regulation XIX of 1793 are in good condition. Government took the responsibility of preserving these when that Regulation was passed, and could undertake no further *lakheraj* resumptions without referring to them. The Noakhali resumptions were however very complete.

Classes of estates. 166. The Calendar of Estates shows the 1,707 revenue-paying estates in the district classified as follows :—

(1) Permanently-settled estates on the roll in 1836 and not falling in other class ... ..	1,256
(2) Resumed revenue-free properties subsequently <i>daimi</i> settled ...	217
(3) Resumed alluvial formation subsequently <i>daimi</i> settled ...	28
(4) Estates purchased by Government and subsequently <i>daimi</i> settled ... ..	18
(5) Permanently-settled estates transferred from other districts after 1836 ... ..	18
(6) Resumed revenue-free properties subsequently <i>daimi</i> settled and transferred from other districts after 1836 ...	6
(7) Estates purchased by Government and subsequently <i>daimi</i> settled and transferred from other districts after 1836 ...	1
(8) Estates created by partition after 1836 ... ..	13
(9) Temporarily-settled private estates ... ..	58
(10) Government estates assessed to revenue ... ..	92
Total ... ..	1,707

Noakhali is remarkable for the fact that proceedings for partition of estates have formed no part of the fiscal history since the Permanent Settlement. There is a strong contrast between Noakhali and Tippera in this matter. There had been only one Collectorate partition carried out apparently since the formation of the district, until the District Settlement Operations commenced. During these operations, and in connection with the revision of land revenue, there have been several proceedings to allot separate blocks of land to Government in place of an undivided share in larger blocks. The account of these is given in Part III, Chapter II, of this Report. Transfers of estates to this district have been very few since its formation. Except the *khās mahāls* Char Falcon and Char Jagabandhu transferred from Bakarganj in 1912 and the village of Kātā Mobarākghonā\* they have all been small properties. The most noticeable transfer from Noakhali was

\* Vide *supra*, paragraph 162

Pargana Dakshin Sāhabāzpur in 1869. The extent of resumed *lakheraj*, resumed *diara* accretions, etc., has been discussed in Chapter III of this Part.

167. Enough has been written in the last chapter to show what diverse conditions prevail in the different *parganas*.

Size of estates. There are large undivided *zamindaris* covering whole *parganas*, either as single estates or in shares, each of which forms a single estate, and on the other hand there is Amrābād, in which the number of estates approaches a thousand. The *parganas* intermediate in character are comparatively unimportant. The following statement is a concise review of the permanently-settled estates of principal *parganas* :—

		Revenue.			
		Rs.	A.	P.	
Bhulua	...	1,13,135	14	0	One principal estate bearing <i>Tauzi</i> No. 5 and 175 <i>kharija taluks</i> , etc.; <i>Tauzi</i> No. 8 in Hātiā and Nos. 41, 42 and 43 near Dalal Bazar are comparatively large; the rest almost all very small.
Tappe Aswadiā	...	3,004	5	0	Divided among 106 <i>kharija taluks</i> .
Chaklā Ghoshbāg	...	1,517	15	1	Divided among 21 <i>kharija taluks</i> .
Amirābād of Bhulua	...	2,140	9	0	Two <i>zamindari</i> estates; no <i>kharija taluks</i> .
Bābupur	...	14,571	2	10	Eight <i>zamindari</i> estates having separate lands; no <i>kharija taluks</i> .
Jaynagar	...	10,153	9	0	One <i>zamindari</i> estate one large <i>kharija taluk</i> .
Rāmchandrapur	...	4,451	9	0	Divided among 44 estates.
Gopālpur-Mirzānagar	...	21,050	5	3	One <i>zamindari</i> estate and 5 <i>kharija taluks</i> .
Amrābād	...	81,663	9	2	One large estate Khās Amrābād, revenue Rs. 30,300, and the rest of the <i>pargana</i> divided among 959 <i>kharija taluks</i> .
Jugidiā	...	24,752	1	8	One <i>zamindari</i> ; no <i>kharija taluks</i> .
Kadbā Amirābād and Bedārābād.	...	45,866	8	8	Four <i>zamindari</i> estates having joint lands; no <i>kharija taluks</i> .
Dāndrā	...	18,219	5	5	Two large estates; 20 smaller ones.
Ellāhābād	...	2,062	10	1	Two estates, one for each 8-anna share. The lands of Ellāhābād are interlaced with those of Dāndrā.
Kānohanpur	...	6,365	6	6	Divided among 90 estates.
Shāestānagar	...	7,422	6	7	Two <i>zamindari</i> estates having joint lands; 3 <i>kharija taluks</i> .
Sandwip	...	91,132	10	3	Four <i>zamindari</i> estates; 52 <i>kharija taluks</i> .
Roshnābād	...	.....			Under one estate paying revenue to the Tippera Collectorate. One <i>kharija taluk</i> paying revenue in Noakhali.
Homnābād	...	.....			<i>Zamindari</i> divided into shares with separate lands; revenue paid to the Tippera Collectorate; 5 <i>kharija taluks</i> paying revenue in Noakhali.

168. Estates are not often found holding jointly the same block of land, and even in single estates the number of co-sharer proprietors is not usually found to be large. There are notable exceptions. For example, the whole of Amrābād and Bedārābād in Noakhali and Kadbā in Tippera are covered jointly by the

\* The *taluks* of Syampur are included in this.



four estates bearing *Tauzi* Nos. 21, 22, 23 and 24 of the Noakhali Roll, and in estate No. 11 of the Roll comprising Jugidiā Pargana there are considerably more than a hundred co-sharers who have appointed a *sadar mālguzār* to act for them. But coparcenary run mad is not a feature of Noakhali estates as it was found to be in Dacca and Faridpur. By the means of creating tenures for aliquot shares of whole estates, when co-sharers have multiplied, estates have often been brought back into the hands of single landlords or of a single family acting jointly. The extent of coparcenary in estates is enough to surprise one not accustomed to conditions in Bengal, but to a Settlement staff coming from Dacca it was the comparative simplicity of the coparcenary which was noticeable.

169. More difficulty was often found in the coparcenary of middlemen. *Tāluka*s were often found with more than twenty co-sharers and in Companyganj and in Sandwip *thanas* some were found with more than one hundred. Even in *raiya*t holdings the number was often surprisingly large. This coparcenary arises from two causes—frequent sales both of small divided blocks and of undivided shares, and the strict adherence among the Muhammadans in better circumstances to their laws of inheritance. Among those who are purely agriculturists a deceased Muhammadan's daughter gives up her share of the family holding when she marries. She is given money and ornaments and she and her children never claim a part of the holding. The case is different when the family property is sublet. Daughters obtain a share of the rents collected, unless there is a definite arrangement to the contrary. Whether it was that the Muhammadan owner with a large family had seen the evil results of rigid adherence to the law of inheritance or been actuated by feelings of animosity towards his sons-in-law, it was often found, especially on the mainland in the centre and east of the district, that such a man had created a *wakf* of his estate and made his eldest or favourite son the *mutawalli*. Such a *wakf* was not in reality a dedication for a charitable or religious purpose. Before the new law of 1914 the Privy Council's decision, that to render such a dedication legal a substantial part of the income from the property must be used for religious or charitable purposes, ruled. Since the passing of the law the purpose may be no more than the perpetuation and maintenance of the dedicator's family in respectable circumstances, but the law did not of course validate dedications made before it was passed. During the Settlement Operations there were several disputes regarding *wakf* dedications, some of which turned upon the question whether the *wakf* had been created in the dedicator's mortal sickness or not. The new law of *wakf* gives the Muhammadans a means of avoiding the minute divisions of property, which their law of inheritance enjoins, and is likely often to be made use of in Noakhali.

170. The extent of subinfeudation varies very much from one estate to another. In the district as a whole the system of subinfeudation is neither so tortuous nor so intricate as that which was found in Bakarganj, but middle rights generally extend to more grades one below the other than in Dacca or Faridpur. Instances of subinfeudation designed to bring together undivided shares of a property into the hands of a single person are to be found, for instance, in Amirābād and Bedārābād and in the Amrābād Khās Estate No. 207 of the *Tauzi* Roll, but usually the tenure system opens downwards like a fan, the subdivision of the property becoming more minute with each lower grade of middlemen until the cultivators are reached. Particulars of the number of tenures in each grade are given below for the biggest estate in the district No. 5 of the *Tauzi* Roll, the Bhuluā Zamindari, and for another estate in which the tenure system for the size of the estate is more complicated, No. 57 of the *Tauzi* Roll, one of the *niz tāluks* originally belonging to the Amrābād Zamindars :—\*

Estate No. 5 of the *Tauzi* Roll—

Area within Noakhali district only, 187,660 acres, 317 sq. miles.

\* Vide *supra*, paragraph 149.



Proprietor—one interest recorded.

1st grade below	3,552 tenures divided into	9,395 distinct interests.
2nd	5,585	7,624
3rd	1,413	1,798
4th	172	208
5th	14	17
6th	1 tenure undivided.	

Very few cultivating *raiya*ts hold direct under the proprietor, but some hold direct under tenure-holders of each grade.

Estate No. 59, area 3235.40 acres—

Proprietor—one estate divided into 5 distinct interests.

1st grade below	14 tenures divided into	16 distinct interests.
2nd	108	194
3rd	135	182
4th	32	35
5th	3 tenures undivided.	

Tenures created by "promotion" of *raiya*ts are not included in the figures for either estate.

171. The statistics of tenancies and rents for the area which came under the District Settlement Operations in Noakhali are given in Appendix D to this Report. The percentage of land recorded as in the direct occupation of proprietors in each *thana* is as follows :—

	Per cent.		Per cent.
Chhāgalnāia	... 3.0	Lakshmipūr	... 2.3
Feni	... 3.8	Noakhali	... 10.4
Companygānj	... 10.9	Sandwip	... 17.7
Begamgānj	... 2.9	North Hātia	... 22.1
Ramgānj	... 2.0	South Hātia	... 16.7

By far the major part of the land so recorded was in new formations not yet leased out to tenants. Paths, etc., which are used by the public, but for which the landlords still pay revenue, usually find place with the land in the direct occupation of proprietors. Sometimes, especially when a whole village has been leased to a middleman, such plots are recorded under tenure-holders, but when *raiya*ts hold direct under the proprietor, and when the middle rights are small ones though between them they may cover the whole village, the paths, etc., which the public use, were usually not included within the tenures and have been recorded in the possession of the proprietors with a note of the public easement. Land, which has been acquired for a public purpose or otherwise, become vested in Government or a public body accounts for only 3,848 acres in the whole area surveyed.

172. The normal proportion of the old land in the direct occupation of proprietors is shown in the figures for Thanas Begamgānj, Ramgānj, Feni and Lakshmipur, in which there is little new formation not yet leased out. Feni has a little at the south that is as yet unoccupied, and throughout Bedārābād and Amrābād the paths are excluded from the *tāluka*s. These two facts account for the somewhat increased proportion in the *thana*. In Amrābād Pargana there are proprietors of small *khārijā tāluka*s who live on and even cultivate their own estates. This accounts for the proportion being higher in Begamgānj than in Ramgānj. The figures for the *thanas* which contain much new land are not valuable, except as showing that there is still a large area in each of them not yet leased out. The small estates in Chāklā Aswadiā which are held by cultivators bring up the figure for Noakhali *thana*. The figure for Sandwip, it must be remembered, refers only to what was surveyed in the District Settlement Operations. Most of the oldest land is within Pargana Niz Sandwip which had been previously surveyed. In the whole of Sandwip the proportion of land in the direct occupation of proprietors is much smaller than in either of the two Hātias. The figure for Chhāgalnāia refers only to the very small area excluded from the Roshnābād Settlement.

Nowhere in the district is there proprietors private land, *khamar*, *nij* or *nijjot*, to which the provisions of section 116 of the Tenancy Act apply.

173. The proportion of the total area of each *thana* recorded as in the direct occupation of tenure-holders of various classes is as follows:—

Percentage of whole area recorded as in direct occupation of the holders of—

Thana	Rent-free tenures.	Permanent tenures at fixed rates.	Permanent tenures, not fixed rates.	Temporary tenures.	"Tenures by custom."
Chhāgalnāiā ... ..	2·6	7·8	1·7	<i>nil</i>	10·1
Feni ... ..	·2	17·6	3·0	<i>nil</i>	22·4
Companygānj ... ..	·2	4·3	11·6	1	10·2
Begamgānj ... ..	·4	9·2	·3	<i>nil</i>	19·2
Raimgānj ... ..	·4	6·6	·2	<i>nil</i>	11·0
Lakshmiपुर ... ..	·3	4·1	·4	<i>nil</i>	20·7
Noakhali ... ..	·2	7·8	1·4	<i>nil</i>	12·6
Sandwip ... ..	·1	5·6	2·0	<i>nil</i>	23·3
North Hātā ... ..	<i>nil</i>	4·1	1·1	1·1	5·2
South Hātā ... ..	<i>nil</i>	5·9	8·1	<i>nil</i>	13·0

The percentage is in each case given to the nearest first figure of decimals. The entry "*nil*" therefore means less than .05 per cent. As before, the figures for Chhāgalnāiā refer only to such a small area dealt with that they are of no value. Rent-free tenures cover more of the area of the old lands than of the new. They are *Brahmatars* and *Debattars* in the main and the holders of them are *bhadralok* Hindus. Rent-free holders have been classed as tenure-holders, *raiya*t and under-*raiya*t, although the classification does not legally apply. Rent-free holders who are of the agricultural classes, who usually hold in exchange for service, as barbers, washermen and the like, have been classed with *raiya*t. Rent-free holdings created in favour of persons not of the agricultural classes, who have therefore sublet the culturable land to agriculturists, have been classed with the tenures. Their owners usually give no service in exchange for their holdings at the present time, although the original holders may have been required to officiate at the religious ceremonies and the like held by the landlords. The area which rent-free tenure-holders have kept in their immediate possession is usually nothing more than their homesteads.

174. Much of the area occupied by tenure-holders at fixed rates and tenure-holders not at fixed rates consists of homesteads, but in this case there is a considerable area consisting of paths, *khals*, old tanks, etc., which were included in middle rights when such were created. This is especially the case when the tenures cover whole villages or at least large blocks. Often a big landlord holds one share of an estate as proprietor and another as a tenure-holder. Then the area of paths, *khals*, etc., is divided proportionately, a share recorded as in his direct possession as proprietor and a share in his direct possession as tenure-holder. The proportion between the area held by tenure-holders at fixed rates and that held by tenure-holders not at fixed rates varies from *thana* to *thana*, according to the proportion between the area for which revenue is not permanently settled and that which is. Outside the *khās mahāls* and temporarily-settled private estates tenures admittedly held at variable rates of rent may be said not to exist at all. A certain number have, however, been recorded in every *thana* in the permanently-settled area. That has been so when the tenure-holders, usually after showing indifference in the matter until the eleventh hour, have been unable to produce documents to prove the fixity of their rent. The considerations on which the classification of certain tenancies as "tenures by custom" was adopted will be found below in paragraph 216 to this Report. They are held to be tenures in local use, but are *raiya*t holdings in origin and their holders have been "promoted" to the status of tenure-holders on payment of a premium to their landlords. They are common all over the district. The owners of the oldest holdings in the *khās mahāls* have come to be considered as somewhat apart from, and

superior in status to, the ordinary *rai'yats*. Throughout the *khās mahāls*, in spite of entries in former records-of-rights in which the framers classified holdings with the designation of *hāolās*, etc., according to their origin, the *hāolādars* were always found to consider themselves tenure-holders, and following the principle of section 5(4) of the Tenancy Act and admitting the local custom, such persons have throughout the new record been recorded according to their wish. The high percentage of land in the immediate occupation of "tenure-holders by custom" in the part of Sandwip Thana surveyed in the District Settlement Operations is accounted for by the large number of *hāolās* in the *khās mahāls*, especially in Char Badu and Char Lakshmi. The high percentage in Feni, Begangānj and Lakshmipur is due to "promotion" in the permanently-settled areas as is also the lower percentage in Rāmganj, Noākhali and Companyganj. In Companyganj the large area held by tenure-holders not at fixed rates is accounted for by the number of old tenures in the Bāuni *khās mahāl*. The Courjon's Settlement of the whole of Amirābād and Bedārābād Parganas mentioned in paragraph 152 above in tenures, many but not all of which are "tenures by promotion," accounts for the fact that more of Feni Thana than any other is covered by tenures. Temporary tenures, that is to say assignments for a definite term of years, are very few.

175. The percentage of the land of each *thana* in the hands of *rai'yats* of different classes in the area included in the district settlement operations is as follows :—

	Service <i>rai'yats</i> .	At fixed rents.	Settled and occupancy cash rents.	Settled and occupancy liable to rent but no rent fixed.	Non-occu- pancy cash rent.	Non-occu- pancy liable to rent but no rent fixed.	Settled and occupancy fixed pro- duce rent.	Settled and occupancy paying share of produce.
Chhāgālnāia ...	·2	nil	64·2	3·4	nil	nil	nil	nil
Feni ...	·1	2·4	45·2	1·2	·2	·3	nil	·1
Companyganj ...	·1	2·2	47·6	·2	3·3	nil	nil	nil
Begangānj ...	·2	11·2	55·0	·5	1	nil	nil	nil
Rāmgānj ...	·2	8·8	68·7	1·1	nil	nil	nil	nil
Lakshmipur ...	·3	8·1	62·4	·3	nil	nil	·1	·1
Noakhali ...	·1	7·9	51·3	·3	4·8	·2	nil	nil
Sandwip ...	·1	·1	42·5	·3	6·9	·7	nil	·1
North Hātiā ...	·1	2·3	42·1	·1	21·5	nil	nil	nil
South Hātiā ...	·1	·7	25·3	·1	29·5	nil	nil	nil

As before, the percentage is taken to the nearest first place of decimals. Where "nil" is written it means therefore that less than '05 per cent. of the whole area of the *thana* is held by *rai'yats* of that class

176. By far the largest class are settled and occupancy *rai'yats* paying cash rents. They hold an area which is 50·68 per cent. of the whole area dealt with. Non-occupancy *rai'yats* hold an area 5·69 per cent. of the whole. Their holdings are almost entirely in the new formations—in Companyganj, Noakhali and Sandwip some, but most in the two Hātiās. In the old land it is very seldom that a *rai'yat* gives up or loses his land and it is settled with new tenants. *Rai'yats* at fixed rents hold 5·91 per cent. of the whole area. They are most often to be found in the old land, and are few in the two Hātiā *thanas*, in the area dealt with in Sandwip and on the eastern side of the main land. Some of them have been promoted to the status from the ordinary *rai'yati* status on payment of a premium to their landlords, but the more part were so recorded following the legal presumption enjoined in section 50 of the Tenancy Act. They are to be found in the parts of the old land where the estates have been ill-managed and the landlords cannot prove how and when the rents were settled. Other classes are much smaller. Settled and occupancy *rai'yats* liable to pay rent but for whom no rent has been fixed occupy '51 per cent. of the whole. Non-occupancy *rai'yats* in the same position occupy '14 per cent.

177. *Rai'yats*, settled and occupancy, paying a fixed produce-rent occupy only 220 acres, '03 per cent., and those paying a share of the produce, 329 acres, '04 per cent. Non-occupancy *rai'yats* at produce-rents only hold 43 acres in the whole district,

This is a state of things in marked contrast with that found in other districts in Eastern Bengal. In Dacca district, according to the Settlement Officer's figures, *rai'yats* at produce-rents were found to occupy 39,693 acres and the proportion of the cultivated area was in one *thana* as much as 15 per cent. Under-*rai'yats* at produce-rents held another 15,751 acres. In Faridpur there were found to be 91,744 acres held by *rai'yats* at produce-rents, and the proportion in one *thana* was as high as 22 per cent. The Settlement Officers of both districts came to the conclusion that the system was on the increase, and that it was an imposition by small landlords and money-lenders on the defenceless and unsophisticated cultivators. Persons of their class are quite unable to make such an imposition upon the Noakhali cultivators. I know of only one instance in which a landlord and money-lender has at all succeeded in doing so and that is in the estate of the Dālālbazār Bābus in Lakshmipur Thana. Holdings at produce-rents are in Noakhali only created as a temporary convenience, as for instance when the father of a family dies and a neighbour takes over the cultivation of the land while the children are growing up. The absence of the *barya* system in Noakhali is accounted for by the strength of the cultivating classes as a body, and to some extent confirms the conclusion that the system elsewhere is a foreign one, introduced as an imposition upon tenants who are not so well able to look after their own interests.

178. Statistics have proved the existing average rate of rent paid by

*Raiyati rents*

*rai'yats* somewhat lower than myself and my Assistant Settlement Officers conceived it to be

from our observations while the preparation of the record-of-rights was in progress. The explanation is in the fact that the rate of rent stated by landlords and tenants is usually not paid for the whole area in the latter's possession. There had been no measurement of the tenants' lands for many years. When it was made the landlord's *amin* took money from a tenant and wrote the area of his fields less than it really was. This is, however, not at all a peculiarity of Noakhali. In the whole area dealt with the average rent paid by *rai'yats* was found to be Rs. 4-4-5 per acre. *Rai'yats* at fixed rents were found to pay rather higher, at Rs. 5-3-2 per acre. There was usually no change of rate when promotion was allowed, but it was usually an excuse for a fresh and more careful measurement of the land. This probably accounts for what otherwise appears anomalous. The rate of rent of non-occupancy *rai'yats* is distinctly lower than that of settled and occupancy *rai'yats*. In the old land it is higher, but in the new formations, especially in the Government estates, it is lower. As so many of the new formations are Government estates and non-occupancy *rai'yats* on the old land are so few, the average rate for non-occupancy *rai'yats* is no more than Rs. 2-9-6. The rates do not vary very much from *thana* to *thana*. That they are distinctly higher in Feni than elsewhere is due to the settlement of the Courjons in Amirābād and Bedārābād, and to the fact that, with so many *rai'yats* promoted to the status of tenure-holders, many who would otherwise still be under-*rai'yats* have now a *rai'yati* status but pay rents comparable with those of under-*rai'yats*. In Ramgānj and Begamgānj where the rates are 8 annas and 4 annas below the average the land is less valuable than nearer the coast. In North Hātiā the low average rate was mainly due to the light assessment in the *khās mahāls*, but most of the estates have come under resettlement of land revenue since the statistics were prepared and the rents have been enhanced.

The following comparison with the figures given by other Settlement Officers is interesting :—

				AVERAGE RATE PER ACRE.								
				For <i>rai'yats</i> at fixed rates.			For settled and occupancy <i>rai'yats</i> .			For non- occupancy <i>rai'yats</i> .		
				Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Noakhali	...	...	...	5	3	2	4	4	5	2	9	6
Faridpur	...	...	...	2	6	7	2	9	2	2	10	6
Dacca	...	...	...	2	2	9	2	13	1	6	1	6
Bakarganj	...	...	...	3	1	11	4	8	10	3	12	9
Muzaffarpur in Behar	...	...	...	2	11	11	3	12	3	4	9	0

The rate for settled and occupancy *raiya*ts in Noakhali is not quite as high as in Bakarganj, slightly higher than in an average Behar district and very distinctly higher than in Faridpur or Dacca, and this in spite of the fact that instances of enhancements during recent years in Noakhali are very few.

179. The percentage of the land of each *thana* in the hands of under-*raiya*ts in the area dealt with is as follows :—

			With right of occupancy.	Without right of occupancy.	Liabie to rent but no rent fixed.
			Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Chhāgalnāiā	...	...	<i>nil</i>	3·0	·1
Feni	...	...	·1	1·7	·1
Companyganj	...	...	·2	3·7	·1
Begangānj	...	...	3·8	4·3	·1
Ramgānj	...	...	·5	5·1	·1
Lakshmipur	...	...	2·8	7·4	·1
Noakhali	...	...	2·0	4·2	·1
Sandwip	...	...	<i>nil</i>	2·2	·1
North Hātiā	...	...	·1	6·2	<i>nil</i>
South Hātiā	...	...	·1	3·8	·1

Under-*raiya*ts in the district cultivate about 9 per cent. of the area held by the *raiya*ts and are therefore a class of some importance. The question of their claims to occupancy rights is referred to later in paragraph 224 of this Report. The rate of rent which under-*raiya*ts pay is on the average Rs. 6-8-6 for those with occupancy rights and Rs. 6-10-8 for those without. The rate is not remarkably higher than the average rate for *raiya*ts and the under-*raiya*ts are not an oppressed class. An under-*raiya*ti holding often belongs to a person who has a *raiya*ti holding of his own, but is able to cultivate more and has taken it over from a neighbour who has more than he can manage.



## PART III.

### The Present Operations.

#### CHAPTER I.

##### Initiation and Progress.

180. The 24 years' programme for the survey and record-of-rights of the province presented by the Government of Bengal to the Government of India contained mention of Tippera and Noakhali. The programme obtained the general approval of the Secretary of State for India, but owing to political changes and the delay due to modifications in procedure it was not adhered to.

In 1912 it was decided that the Dacca Survey Party should move on to Tippera and Noakhali. In his letter No. 476, dated 19th February 1913, the Secretary to the Government of Bengal in the Revenue Department informed the Director of Land Records of this provisional decision, and requested him after consulting the Collectors of the two districts to submit through the Commissioner of the Division a report with a programme and estimate of the costs of surveying and preparing the record-of-rights. This report was submitted by the Director of Land Records in the following June.\* It was proposed that one Settlement Operation should cover the two districts, but that no fresh survey or record should be made for Ohāklā Roshnābād, Estate No. 252 of the Tippera *Tauzi* Roll, the river zones adjoining Faridpur, Dacca and Mymensingh, which had already been surveyed, or for Dāndrā Pargana and certain smaller estates which were under survey in Minor Settlement Operations controlled by the Collector of either district. The proposal was forwarded to the Government of India in August,† the following five main reasons being advanced for taking these two districts next in order after those in which the survey had already begun :—

- (1) that the necessity of completing the survey and record-of-rights for the whole Presidency was the accepted policy and that Tippera and Noakhali, formed the only part of the easternmost portion of the Presidency that remained ;
- (2) that there was evidence that middlemen had crept in between the cultivator and the landlord, usurping the occupancy rights that should belong to the cultivator ;
- (3) that the people were notoriously litigious, and disputes about land readily led to criminal acts ;
- (4) that there were questions regarding obscure and unusual rights in land that it was necessary to clear up ; and
- (5) that in Noakhali there were a large number of temporarily-settled estates which were being settled piecemeal, and it would be of great advantage to have these estates regularly surveyed and the rates prevalent in them examined by an expert staff.

As regards the areas in the two districts in respect of which a record-of-rights already existed the Government of Bengal promised that—

(1) The revision of the record-of-rights of the Roshnābād estates would not be undertaken without reference to the Government of India.

(2) No revision in the other estates would be undertaken without reference to the Government of India if it involved any material modification in the estimates sanctioned by that Government.

\* Director of Land Records' letter No. 3963, dated 9th June 1913, to the Revenue Secretary, Government of Bengal.

† Letter of Revenue Secretary, Government of Bengal, No. 1935-T.—R., dated 2nd August 1913, to Revenue Secretary, Government of India.



(3) In no case should any share of the cost of revision be debited to the Government of India without its previous sanction.

181. In sanctioning the proposal\* the Government of India decided that, in the case of the revision of the record-of-rights in estates for which a record was already in existence, no part of the costs should be borne by the Government of India, but the whole costs should be borne by the landlords and tenants (or by the Local Government as usual, where a revision of revenue was also made). Notifications Nos. 2639-47-T.—R., dated 11th October 1913, were published for the survey and the preparation of a record-of-rights for all lands within the administrative boundaries of the two districts, with the exception of lands comprised in Chāklā Roshnābād.

182. As regards the areas for which a record-of-rights already existed the instructions given to the Director of Land Records† were :—

(1) That a further enquiry should be made before it was decided whether Chāklā Roshnābād should be resurveyed.

(2) That Pargana Sarail (in Tippera) should be resurveyed.

(3) That Pargana Niz Sandwip should not be resurveyed.

(4) That the petty estates should be resurveyed, but that the Director of Land Records was authorized to omit any petty estate which had been recently surveyed, if the survey and record were considered sufficiently satisfactory.

In passing on these instructions to me the Director gave two lists, A and B, of estates which it was proposed to resettle and omit respectively. The basic principle of list B was to omit from resettlement all estates which had recently come under the petty settlements except a few which it was inadvisable to omit because of their scattered area and the fact that they were so small or so intermingled with other estates that it was almost impossible to omit them. I was instructed to make a further examination in the case of the three large *khās* estates, Char Jabbar, *Tauzi* No. 1853, Char Khandakar, No. 1560, and Char Iswar Ray, Part I, No. 1675. Finally, I was to make a careful investigation regarding Chāklā Roshnābād.

183. The record of Char Jabbar was found to be a bad one and possession was not found to follow it. This *char* was surveyed afresh, but Char Khandakār and Char Iswar Rāy were not touched as the records had not a bad reputation. Certain areas included in the Director's list B were ultimately resurveyed for various reasons. It was found that the villages Char Dirghāpār, Char Bāuria, Char Kāchiāpār and a few other small blocks in Sandwip had been surveyed under notifications in which only the Government share, under which the blocks were held jointly with a private estate, had been mentioned, and the record prepared for a proportionate share only of the area of each plot. The whole of these blocks was, therefore, resurveyed as was also a small *diara* estate Thak Paiādogi Kaiadogi in Sandwip, the survey of which was found to have been bad. For the information of the Courts, for example, in the matter of the applicability of section 111 of the Tenancy Act, and of the general public, a complete list of the areas excluded from the District Settlement Operations was published in the *Calcutta Gazette* by Notification No. 827-L.R., dated 23rd January 1919. It has been reprinted and will be found in Appendix VI(b) to this Report.

184. The decision regarding Chāklā Roshnābād was not reached until the end of the first season's field work. Some of the old maps were taken out into the field and checked on the spot, and field-to-field *bujharat* was made of four villages to obtain an impression as to the present value of old maps and records. In Appendix VIII to this Report will be found a copy of my report of this inquiry upon which it was definitely decided that Chāklā Roshnābād should not be resurveyed or the record revised.

\* Letter of Secretary, Government of India, No. 1337-344-2, dated 30th August 1913.

† Letter of Revenue Secretary, Government of Bengal, No. 1347-T.—R., dated 28th October 1914, to Director of Land Records, Bengal.

185. *Thana by thana* the area for which a record-of-rights was prepared and the area estimated to exist, but for which no fresh record was prepared, was as follows :—

Thana.	Area for which a fresh record was prepared.		Area excluded covered by existing records.		Total.	
	Acres.	Sq. miles.	Acres.	Sq. miles.	Acres.	Sq. miles.
Chhāgalnāiā ...	1,502	2	83,053	130	84,555	132*
Feni ...	104,238	163	27,857	43	132,095	206
Companyganj ...	37,054	58	2,468	3	39,518	61
Begamganj ...	140,371	219	nil	nil	140,371	219
Ramganj ...	74,919	117	nil	nil	74,919	117
Lakshmipur ...	114,206	179	11,802	19	126,035	198
Noakhali ...	90,489	142	16,428	25	106,917	167
Sandwip ...	61,627	97	44,000	68	107,936	168†
North Hātiā ...	50,449	78	27,957	44	82,186	129‡
South Hātiā ...	68,680	106	37,249	59	109,509	171§
Total ...	743,531	1,162	250,841	391	1,004,121	1,568

\* Area excluded was not re-estimated in this *thana*.

† Total includes Char Udaykali, unoccupied *khās mahāl*, 2,309 acres, for which no record was prepared.

‡ Total includes Char Kāikini, unoccupied *khās mahāl*, 3,780 acres, for which no record was prepared.

§ Total includes Char Jahājmāra, unoccupied *khās mahāl*, for which no record was prepared.

The difference between this total and the area which is found mentioned in Part I, Chapter III, of this Report, is due mainly to the heavy diluvion which has taken place in Pargana Niz Sandwip since the record-of-rights of that *pargana* was prepared. Some 12,000 acres have disappeared.

186. A few years before the District Settlement Operations commenced a dispute arose between the Rājā of Tippera and Feni River Block. Government over the small area affected by changes in the course of the Feni river. The case was compromised on the basis of the Revenue Survey, both parties agreeing that the middle line of the river according to the Revenue Survey maps of the Noakhali side should be relaid, and should become the boundary between the two parties' property where it crossed the land. This Revenue Survey line was relaid by Mr. E. O. C. Judd of the Survey Department in 1913, and it was thought fit that a record-of-rights should be prepared for the small areas transferred by the compromise from one party to the other. Notifications Nos. 10540-L. R. and 10541-L. R., dated 10th November 1914, were issued and the work was undertaken along with the District Settlement Operations, but the tenants were to pay no part of the costs. Under this notification a record-of-rights was prepared for an area of 238·49 acres in Thana Mireswari of Chittagong District on the south bank of the river which passed to the Rājā, and for an area of 145·53 acres in Thana Chhāgalnāiā on the north bank of the river which became a new *khās mahāl* estate, which was given the *Tauzi* No. 1951 and assessed to revenue.

187. A brick-built office, record-room and out-houses as well as a house Office buildings. for the Settlement Officer and Civilian Assistant Settlement Officers were erected in Comilla. The site chosen was some land originally acquired when a large extension of the jail was contemplated. It was not a good one, being very low, approached by bad roads and bordered on the south by an unsavoury drain from the jail. There was some delay in starting work on the site occasioned by a mistake, by which no allotment for expenditure during the year 1914-15 was made. For the first 18 months a building in Noakhali belonging to the Law Rāj was rented and used as an office building. The head-quarters of the settlement was transferred to Comilla in April 1916 and the new buildings except the record-room occupied. The record-room was not ready till the end of the

year. The expenditure by the Public Works Department on the buildings was Rs. 97,850 in all. This included the cost of excavating a large tank in order to obtain earth sufficient to raise the site. This in part accounts for the heavy expenditure, but the rates paid by the Public Works Department in those parts have been allowed to run exceedingly high. Rs. 39 per 100 cubic feet was paid for the brickwork in part of the buildings. The buildings, especially the record-room and the residence, however, proved very good and withstood the earthquake of June 1918 with little or no damage. The ill-fortune of the "kutchas" buildings of the Faridpur Settlement which were twice struck by cyclones determined the policy under which brick buildings were put up in Comilla. These narrowly escaped the irony of fate when the earthquake wrecked the Collector's and District Judge's houses in Comilla and the record-room of the Judge's Court. The Settlement Officer's residence is to become the Collector's when the operations are brought to a close, and, the residential buildings of the station having suffered two casualties in the earthquake, it has been suggested that the vernacular office building shall be adapted to be a circuit-house. The record-room will be retained to accommodate the record-of-rights for Tippera. Allowance for adjustment of the value of these buildings, when the Local Government takes them over, has been made in the apportionment of settlement costs both in Noakhali and Tippera.

### Traverse Survey.

188. Traverse survey of the first block was taken in the season 1913-14 Pargana Dakshin Sik (Thana Ohhāgalnāiā) was omitted with the exception of three villages which were not surveyed in the Roshnābād Settlement, but the villages of Pargana Dāndrā and Pargana Niz Sandwip as well as the *khās mahāl* and temporarily-settled estates which were excluded from the programme of the Settlement were traversed. Part of Dāndrā and most of Niz Sandwip contained separate *chaks* belonging to estates which had not been included within the notification of the Petty Settlements and had to be cadastrally surveyed, and, moreover, the traverse survey upon which the Petty Settlements had been based were not done by the professional Survey Party in Bengal, and the maps would therefore not have been acceptable to the Surveyor-General for the purpose of topographical maps and as a basis of his "standard mapping". The same objection did not stand against the maps of the Roshnābād Settlement covering Thana Ohhāgalnāiā. During this first season the Director of Surveys had three traverse parties at work in Bengal, one in Rājshāhi, one in Mymensingh and one in Noakhali, and a full programme. He was unable to complete computation and send the sheets of one *thana*, Feni, the largest in the first block, until two months later. In other *thanas* some sheets were not sent until January 1915. They had not been "partalled" the season before, and could not be sent until a Traverser had gone out and checked again the circuits which did not "prove". There were some unsatisfactory points in the traverse of the first block. The traverse was sometimes not as near to the village boundary as it might have been, but much more difficulty was found in case of the separate sheets into which the maps of large *mauzas* had to be divided. The villages had been traversed in circuit and a certain number of sub-traverse lines ran across them, but neither had the latter been run with an eye to the manner in which the map of the whole village would be divided into sheets, nor the division made with any reference to the sub-traverse lines which had been run. It was not uncommon to find sheet corners as many as 20 chains away from the nearest traverse point. In this matter the Director of Surveys modified his methods in subsequent years. Instead of supplying traverse sheets which did not overlap at all and had to be filled with mapping up to the very edge, he subsequently supplied more sheets, which overlapped considerably so that the cadastral staff had an opportunity of including in each sheet only as much as was enclosed by traverse lines. In the traverse of the second block there was nothing to complain of.

189. The difficulty of connecting up the islands must have been great. The traverse of Sandwip was not able to be connected with that of the mainland the first season, but it was done the second season, when all the islands were connected and the traverse taken across to Manpura in Bakarganj. It was afterwards found that Manpura had not been connected up with the Bakarganj mainland, but this was, I believe, completed later. The method used in triangulating across the channels was that known as the "subtense method". Comparatively short base lines were carefully measured with a crinoline chain and the small angle at the apex of the triangles very carefully taken using the "tangent screws" of the theodolite only. The other two angles were measured in the usual way and any correction necessary given in those two angles only and not in the apex angle.

Connection with Geometrical Traverse Stations.

190. The traverse of the district was connected with six points of the Geometrical Traverse at the following stations :—

- XV.—Bijoy Singh Tower.
- XXXVIII.—Kādra.
- XXXVI.—Matāli.
- XXXIV.—Basakpur.
- XXXII.—Lakshinagar.
- XXXIII.—Gupti.

Owing to the war the Survey of India was unable to undertake triangulation for fixing Geometrical Traverse Stations on the islands.

Altogether 38,233 traverse stations were used.

### Cadastral Survey.

191. Practically the whole of the area to which the Settlement Operations extended was surveyed on the scale of 16" to the mile. Here and there a market, or similar locality where the plots were peculiarly small, was surveyed on a larger scale and plotted on the margin of a village map with a reference to show its position in the interior in the map, but such a contrivance was only necessary in a few cases and for small blocks. The one case in which whole sheets were prepared on a larger scale than 16" to the mile was that of the centre of Noakhali Municipality where two sheets were prepared on the scale of 64" to the mile. The two islands Jāhājmarā to the south of South Hātiā and Kālkini to the north of North Hātiā were surveyed on the scale of 4" to the mile. They are without cultivation and have not yet been leased by Government except for grazing purposes. Char Udaykāli to the south of Sandwip is in similar circumstances, but it was mapped in the 16" scale as the question was raised whether it was fit for a *raiayatwāri* settlement on the *killabandi* system or not. The village boundaries in the excluded areas had been traversed and were surveyed as were also any roads and rivers which passed through them. In Sandwip and in Dāndrā most of the villages contained "chaks" for which a record-of-rights had to be prepared as they were excluded from the Petty Settlements. Subsequently, other details from the Petty Settlement sheets were transferred to 4" reductions of these boundary maps and used in preparing the topographical 4" maps.

192. The area of the first block, 706 square miles, for which 16" maps had to be prepared was divided into ten circles for cadastral survey. *Halkas*, each in the charge of a *Kārungo* under whom 10 *āmīns* were employed, were smaller on the islands than on the mainland, in order that *Kistwār*, *Khānapuri* and *Bujhārat*, the three stages of the first year's work, might be concluded before the season of storms, when the passage to and from the islands may be a matter of considerable danger. During the first season only 60 *Karungos* were employed, those placed at first on the islands coming over to the mainland later in the season to help their fellows there. The second year along

with 461 square miles in the west of the district two revenue *thanas* comprising four police *thanas* of Tippera were taken up. Again arrangements were made so that the work on the islands might be finished before the season of storms, and the *Kānungos* who had been employed on them came over by the end of March to help on the mainland.

193. The difficulty and easiness of the survey went to extremes.

*Āmins' fees.*

Some of the new formations, bare open spaces of high rice land, offered no difficulty whatsoever. There were no impediments to be cleared away and no ingenuity on the part of the *āmins* was required before their lines could be run. At the beginning the *āmins* were somewhat dissatisfied to learn that only Rs. 8 per hundred acres would be paid for the survey of *char* lands instead of the usual Rs. 10 which had been paid in District Settlement Operations before, but afterwards those who were given *char* sheets found that they had profited. They were able to work very fast. On the mainland there were sheets which took the *āmins* a long time in running the *murabba* lines, as they are called, forming the basis upon which depend the subsidiary lines by which the details and field boundaries are plotted. These were the sheets containing dense betel-nut gardens and homesteads. But even the most difficult areas to survey did not prove by any means as hard as those of the staff, who saw them before work commenced, imagined they would be. There was very little cane jungle to be cleared anywhere. The betel-nut groves, although they were so dense, were well cared for. No heavy undergrowth had been allowed to come up. The betel-nut trees are all exactly perpendicular and the *āmins* found that they could see their flags an unexpectedly long distance among them for that reason. Traverse in the densely-wooded area followed the village boundaries very well, sub-traverse lines were frequent and well placed and the *āmins* knew their business. *Kānungos* were instructed to compensate an *āmin* who had finished the survey of a particularly difficult sheet by giving him afterwards an especially easy one and *vice versa*. By such an arrangement it was found that the necessity of paying, in justice to the *āmin*, extra fees for difficult sheets anywhere in the district was avoided.

194. There were 14 new *Kānungos* in the first season, but they were not employed the second season owing to the reduction of one settlement party in the province,

*An experienced staff*

when the beginning of operations in Jessore was suspended in October 1915. Of the Assistant Settlement Officers in charge of circles only three *Munsiffs* sent for training were new to settlement work. The rest were all old hands. In the first year the eastern half of the block and in the second year all but one circle were under the charge of Khan Sahib A. K. Kabiruddin Ahmed. It was a disappointment that very few Hindustani *āmins* came down the first year owing to the disturbed conditions caused by the outbreak of the war. I heard it from one of the few that came that stories of the "Emden" had deterred his friends from coming with him right down to the coast, but he had, he said, a brother who had gone in the expeditionary force, and was not afraid. An excellent selection of Bengali *āmins* was able to be made, for Noakhali is one of the homes of *āmins* in Bengal. They originally worked in the Roshnābād and Chittagong Settlement, and though most of the original ones have now dropped out of the ranks, their places have been taken by their children and other relatives whom they have trained up from boyhood. Previous experience in other districts had taught me to look on the Noakhali *āmins* as the best Bengali *āmins* to be obtained. As many perhaps come from Jessore, but they are not nearly such good workers. They are often sickly and always ready to make their living by other means than their legitimate employment. The second year's selection of *āmins* was even better than the first for Mymensingh Settlement had finished its field work, and the only other place where many *āmins* could find employment was Rājshāhi. A still better selection was obtained in the third year of the Tippera-Noakhali Settlement, but then the work to be done was only in Tippera.

195. From the beginning the rule was insisted on that no "offset" was

*Methods of Survey.*

to be taken more than 100 links from the chain-line. All the superior staff combined in showing the *āmins* that this was not intended as an arbitrary rule only. Over and

over again it was explained to the *āmins*, that, by placing the chain-lines close to the field boundaries so as to pick up bends and corners, not only was accuracy ensured but much time saved, for it is not in pulling the chain that time is spent but in waiting for the man with the pole to go to a corner at a distance from the chain-line, manipulating the offset square and waiting again for him to measure back to the chain. The orientation of the fields and the continuity of the line of *āils* along their short ends are peculiarities probably no more marked in Noakhali and Tippera than in other parts of the province, but full advantage had not been taken of them before. Each one of the *Kānungos* and superior staff must have many times shown an *āmin* on the ground how he could best take advantage of them in placing the flags from which to run his chain-lines. The *āmin* proved quick to see the advantage and to learn. A few, understanding only the rule of short offsets and nothing more, took to drawing false "*shikimi*" lines on the maps, and it became necessary to insist on a mark with a *kodāli* being left on the ground where a chain-line crossed a boundary, but those few either learnt ultimately or were weeded out gradually, and it became the usual thing to find that an *āmin* had surveyed nearly all the open area of his sheet with offsets not more than 30 or 40 links, and that the general average of progress had decidedly quickened rather than the reverse. The accuracy of which the average Settlement *āmin* is capable has improved out of all comparison since I first entered the Settlement Department at the end of 1910. The rule originally put into force in Mymensingh was insisted upon, by which only the "*khākā*," a sheet of paper with the position of the traverse marks roughly indicated on it, was at first given to the *āmin*. He had to measure the traverse lines and divide the village into "*murabbas*" (quadrilaterals) by lines from one traverse line to another without seeing the actual sheet. The *Kānungo* himself was required to check the *āmins'* measurements on the sheet and to divide it into quadrilaterals. The rule makes sure of a correct basis for the *āmins'* field survey. It throws the whole responsibility for any mistake in that basis upon the *Kānungo*.

196. A high average of *partāl* (check lines run across the sheets), by *Kānungos* or superior officers, was maintained. Fifty chains per hundred acres was required in every *halka*, but energetic *Kānungos* vied with one another to do more. In the first block 3.76 linear miles were run in every square mile surveyed and in the second block 4. Proper distribution of *partāl*, moreover, was required. Some *Kānungos* were found too fond of leaving the *āmin* almost to finish his sheet and then running several long lines of *partāl* the same day on the same sheet. Others were inclined to shirk the difficulty of running *partāl* lines through the parts of the sheet containing homesteads and gardens. Circle Officers and Charge Officers were required to pay particular attention to the distribution of *partāl* according to both place and time. The character and extent of the corrections made upon *partāl*, the experience of the *Kānungos* at *bujhārat* and of Attestation Officers; the field inspection of the Superior Officer and the criticisms which have been made by the Director of Surveys from time to time show that the care which was taken at the stage of *kistwār* has been well repaid in the accuracy of the maps. Coming from settlement work in Nātor Subdivision in Rājshāhi, I was able to appreciate the great advantage which comes from the staff being able to work continuously without interruptions caused by malarial fever. Altogether, Tippera-Noakhali Settlement has had advantages which no Bengal Settlement has had before or will have again for a long time to come, and it would have been a matter for regret if the maps had not been as good and as accurate as such maps are ever likely to be, until a method of projection and rectification is invented which will enable cadastral maps to be prepared by photographing from the air.

197. Before work commenced the *Peoples' Association* of Noakhali petitioned that the work should be stayed, because the war had commenced and cultivators who had not been able to sell their jute had no ready money. In a few cases cultivators objected to the *āmins* working before the paddy was cut and said that the *āmins* were doing more harm than they need, but *Kānungos* and Circle Officers took care to see that this was not allowed to be so and no real harm



was anywhere done. Complaints that the *āmins* had taken money were very few indeed. That they seemed to devote all their energies to their work and made such good progress pointed to their dependence upon their fees. It may have been partly because the Noakhali cultivators are very far from unsophisticated and quite unready to give something for no tangible return, but it certainly seemed that the *Kānūngo* system has successfully muzzled the ox that threadeth out the corn, and I believe that the amount of cash realized by *āmins* from villagers and put into their own pockets was very small indeed. *Āmins* must often have got their food or some of their food given to them, for the Mussalmans of Noakhali are not by any means inhospitable to strangers and are always ostentatious in such matters, but usually that was all they got besides their legitimate earnings.

198. Some special pieces of survey were found necessary to be done in certain *khās mahāl* estates. In the southern block of Char Tamaraddin and in Chengar Char in South Hātiā settlement had been made with tenants on what pretended to be the *killābandi* system. Outline maps had been taken and squares drawn on them to represent the tenants' holdings, but the whole *chars* were covered in dense *Sundarban* jungle and no marks had been put down on the ground. The settlements had been made by the *Khās Mahāl Tahsil* staff without showing any expenditure and without any budget provision. In Chengār Char Rs. 2 had been collected from each tenant to pay for a demarcation after settlement, but this had not yet been done. As a record-of-rights had to be made, the Settlement Department undertook the demarcation of the holdings, and the Collector, I believe, refunded the subscription to the tenants. The work was done with a theodolite with great care and proved a difficult and expensive task owing to the denseness of the jungle. Throughout these two *chars* iron pillars, sufficiently high not to be buried in the silt left by the annual floods, were posted at corners of fields 20 chains apart. Intermediate field corners were marked by wooden posts so that no tenant will have any difficulty in identifying his holding. Similar *killābandi* demarcations on a smaller scale were also made in Char Jagabandhu and Char Falcon in North Hātiā and in Char Maglhabara in Sandwip, but there was no difficulty in their case as the *chars* were bare and open.

199. In Noakhali there existed maps prepared by Mr. Chandra showing the jurisdiction of the revenue *thanas* and lists of *mauzas* included within such jurisdiction. The villages shown separately in Mr. Chandra's map were almost always Revenue Survey units, and except in a few instances the same units were adopted in preparing the cadastral maps. In these few cases very large *mauzas* were divided after a regular proceeding in which proprietors and others were invited to state any objections they might have. The Revenue Survey *mauza* was sometimes an artificial unit at the time of that survey, and the adoption of the word *mauza* by the Revenue Survey authorities undoubtedly produced certain misunderstandings. The word formerly conveyed the meaning,—a parcel of the same property isolated among other estates or a subdivision into which such a block was divided. It does not appear that before the Revenue Survey it was used to signify an agglomeration of portions of originally separate estates included within the same periphery. Whatever may have been the state of things at the time of the Revenue Survey or immediately after it, the Revenue Survey *mauza* had become a very well-established and recognized unit long before the Settlement Operations began. Only in minor instances was it found that the village units in common use did not coincide with the Revenue Survey units. In one noticeable case in which a Revenue Survey unit, the big Char Matua west of Noakhali town, had been subdivided in local use, the subdivisions were in the main adopted as units for the present survey.

200. Usually it was found that the Revenue Survey village names were in present use. In a few cases other names had appeared and when that had happened the name best known in the locality was chosen to be entered in the record-of-rights. It was found that new islands had commonly been named after Government servants connected with the revenue administration, and that



the names had been used in addition to the Collector's C Register and to describe the *khās mahāl* estates. Often these names do not find place in the record-of-rights, not because a Government servant "should not aspire to immortality thus," to quote a schoolmaster who found a small boy carving his name on his desk, but simply because the names are not in local use. Thus Char Mir Muhammad Ali (the man of this name was an *āmin*) has been written Char Tamaruddin, Char Sen (Sen was a Collector of Noakhali) has been written Burir Char, Char Dunlop (another Collector), Char Jāhājmarā, and so on. Other names given by Government officers have stuck and are in common use. They have been adopted for the record-of-rights. Such names are Char Iswar Ray, Char Jagabandhu, Char Alexander, Char Lawrence and many more. Following the course prescribed in section 3 (10) (b) of the Bengal Tenancy Act, Notification No. 1361-L. R., dated the 9th February 1917, was issued in the *Calcutta Gazette* adopting the units of the present survey as "villages" within the meaning of the Act, and this course has met the case both of the few changes made among the Revenue Survey village units and of the islands formed within recent times.

### **Boundary Disputes and Demarcation of Boundaries made under Part V of the Survey Act of 1875.**

201. Disputes regarding village boundaries were not very many in Noakhali and very few of them were of much importance. The total number filed was 103. They usually referred to paths, small streams, tanks and small pieces of unoccupied land that happened to fall on the boundary between one village and another. There were appeals to the Settlement Officer in nine cases only. In 6 of them the original award was upheld and in the other three modified. One second appeal against two appeals heard together was filed before the Commissioner. No appeal lay to him as of right; but he heard the parties and upheld the decision.

202. In 16 instances Revenue Survey lines and other lines were relaid and demarcated under sections 44, 45 and 46 of the Survey Act. In the following cases Revenue Survey lines were relaid and the record followed the relay as the land was unoccupied :—

- (1) In Char Baradhali (Thana Companyganj) the Revenue Survey line of Char Darbesh.
- (2) Between Bāhercharā and East Baradhali (Thana Companyganj) the Revenue Survey boundary.
- (3) In Char Darbesh (Thana Feni) the Revenue Survey line of Char Chhotadhali.
- (4) Between Char Allen and Char Rāmnārāian (Thana Feni) the Revenue Survey line of the latter *mauza*.
- (5) In Niz Kunjurā (Thana Chhāgalnāiā) the Revenue Survey line of 1863-64 of Kātā Mobārakgona.
- (6) The Revenue Survey line of diluviated villages of Bhuluā Pargana in Char Jabbar.

In the following cases *thāk* lines were relaid and the record followed the relay as the land was unoccupied :—

- (1) In the south of Char Magdhara (Sandwip) the boundary between the permanently-settled and temporarily-settled estates.
- (2) In the south of Rāmpur and Musāpur (Thana Companyganj) the lines of *thāk chaks* of estates Nos. 211, 14 and 16 of the *Tauzi* Roll.
- (3) In Char Afzāl Fakirā (North Hātiā) the *thāk* lines of estate 1569.

In Char Baradhali, Thana Companyganj, at one point the boundary line of the temporarily-settled estate Thāk Darbesh was relaid according to a former settlement map and the record followed the relay as the land was unoccupied.

In Char Niāmat (North Hātiā) the boundary between Dakshin Sāhābāzpur Pargana and the Bhulūā estate bearing No. 15 of the *Tauzi* Roll was demarcated according to Captain Hodges' survey, and the record followed the demarcation as possession had not yet been established in the area affected.

In the following cases the Revenue Survey lines separating estates which were old *diara* estates from the parent estates were relaid and the record followed the relay :—

- (1) Between Gullākhāli and Char Molla Mandaliā (Thana Noakhali).
- (2) Between Bhutākhāli and Char Molla Mandaliā (Thana Noakhali).
- (3) Between the *diara* estate Char Udmārā and the Shāestānagar *zamindari*.

The *thāk* boundary between the *diara* estate No. 1640 and the parent estate was relaid and the record followed the relay in *mauza* Char Afzāl Fakirā in North Hātiā.

Between Char Ramiz and Char Mehar in North Hātiā the Revenue Survey was relaid on the application of the Collector, but the record followed present possession. In Thāk Hudrākhāli in Sandwip the decretal line of a civil suit was laid down and the record followed it.

The marks put down in all these cases as also the marks which were used to demarcate village trijunctions and in connection with the *Diara* Survey are protected by the provisions of the Survey Act. I commend this fact to the notice of the Collector. It is a common thing in Noakhali to find that boundary marks have been moved and no evidence is forthcoming to prove who moved them. In such a case the provisions of section 56 of the Survey Act are often useful. The Collector will do well in Noakhali, when making a demarcation of a boundary line according to some previous survey, formally to proceed under Part V of the Survey Act in order to ensure the same protection for the marks which he may put down. Even when adjusting their boundary between two *khās mahāl* tenants according to the last settlement map of an estate, it is well to make the proceeding a formal one under the Survey Act.

#### Khanapuri.

203. In Noakhali modified rules for writing the *khatians* were employed which had not been used before. They were the rules which appeared a year afterwards in the technical rules and instructions "issued by the Director of Land Records on principles approved by Government". The late Major Jack, after the printing of the record had become an established process, turned his attention towards economy in the volume of the record both as to the number of pages used for each *mauza* and the number of words and lines used on each page of the form. In one point a change from the procedure in Faridpur and Dacca was necessary for reasons other than economy. In those settlements when the same landlord collected rent from the same *rāiyat* in two different rights (*e. g.*, four annas as proprietor and four annas as a middleman holding a lease from another proprietor) the rule was that the rent in the two shares must be divided and recorded in two parts. The landlords had begun to object strongly to this. The matter was hardly a matter of law, for section 102 of the Tenancy Act and the notifications issued under section 101 specified among the particulars to be recorded "the rent payable at the time the record-of-rights is being prepared" without prescribing the record of further particulars of the manner in which the rent is realized by co-sharer landlords. A co-sharer landlord alone cannot sue for and obtain a "rent decree" for a share of the rent of a tenant. He can only obtain a "money decree". Even after a record-of-rights has been prepared, and the *khatians* show the separate collections of co-sharer landlords, when he sues for his rent he has to prove his separate collection by independent evidence. Nor does the record operate at all in the reverse case. To make the case clearer by example—in the case of a holding under two co-sharers, one of whom is proprietor for 8 annas and middleman for 4 annas and the other proprietor for 4 annas, the record of the rent in three parts does not help the

4-anna proprietor in any way towards separate realization of his share through the Civil Court, for he still has to prove his separate collection independently and can only get a money decree ; nor on the other hand does it drive his co-sharer to the necessity of suing for and obtaining separate decrees for each of his two shares and give the tenant an opportunity of satisfying them one at a time. To the question :—"Is the Settlement Officer legally bound after setting forth the share of the holding held under each landlord to record any further particulars concerning the rent than the total amount payable?"—the answer is in the negative. The question follows :—"Is there anything to be gained by dividing the total rent in any particular case and, if so, what consideration should be taken as a guide in the matter of such division?" This may be looked at from three points of view—that of the tenant, that of the landlord and that of those who prepare and will have to use the record after it is complete. When the time for payment of rent comes round the tenant who holds under three distinct landlords has to go perhaps to three different *kāchāris* (offices of landlords' agents) in three different villages and make three distinct payments. If he only knows the total rent and is the simpleton in money matters which the cultivator of Bengal usually is (but which by the way the Noakhali cultivator usually is not), he will find when he reaches home that the total he has paid is something more than the total rent due. The agent of each landlord has taken advantage of him over the old annas and pice in making the division of the total. It is, therefore, distinctly to the advantage of the tenant if each amount of rent which he has to pay separately is recorded separately. It frequently happens that rent is realized from the same tenant by co-sharers who have never seen each other and have no dealings with one another. One may live in one district and one in another. Especially when such co-sharers realize, as they often do in the matter of odd annas and pice not quite in accordance with their shares (I am not now speaking of odd realizations by their agents which are not credited to the landlords), it is very much to their advantage that the record-of-rights should show them clearly what the rent of their share from each holding actually is. From the point of view of the record-makers and record-users the following may be said. Before the first experience of printing the record in Faridpur the *sthit* of each landlord was written up in full in his *khatīān*. That is to say, in the columns of the *khatīān* of each landlord's interest set apart for the purpose, the number and a brief note of the ownership of each tenancy held under that interest together with its share of the rent and its proportionate area were entered. As the rent for each landlord's interest had to be entered in the *sthit* columns the shares of the rent had to be separated at some time, and the rules required that the Attestation Officer as he dealt with each tenant's *khatīān* in turn should enter the rent due against each landlord's interest. The cost of printing the full *sthit* was found to be prohibitive, and, as it was not an essential part of the record, neither in Faridpur nor Dacca, where also the full *sthit* was written, was it printed in full. For statistical purposes, for cess revaluation and for use in subsequent partition proceedings and the like it is sufficient if the total rent of each holding is known. It may thus be said that the record of separate rents against the interests of co-sharer landlords is not now essential or even a convenience either to the makers or the users of the record-of-rights for administrative purposes. After this examination from the point of view of these three parties, the answer to the second of the above questions is that it is a convenience to both tenants and landlords that the rent of a holding should be divided in the record-of-rights to show separate accounts against the interests or groups of interests of co-sharer landlords for which a separate collecting agency is employed, but it is of no advantage to be so in other cases. This convenience is the consideration to be adopted as a guide.

It is very common in Eastern Bengal to find that co-sharer landlords, who employ a common rent-collecting agency, have separate accounts of collections kept on paper and give separate rent receipts to their tenants. They distrust one another. One may at any time attempt to gain an ascendancy over the tenants, separate from the others and induce the tenants not to pay them. The papers they have kept will then enable the others to sue the tenants and

get money decrees for their shares of the rent. The procedure adopted is only precautionary and is not usually adopted as a preliminary step to further separation. It has the effect of deterring any one of them from attempting to play the others false in the way that has been mentioned, and may continue indefinitely. Sometimes it seems to be mere ostentation instead of this distrust that has prompted its adoption. In such a case as this it is no advantage to the tenant to have the rent due to each co-sharer separately recorded. He has to pay one sum to one single agent and it is enough for him that the total payment is recorded. The landlord in such a case urges that the separate collections should be recorded, but, as has already been pointed out, this will not help him in the least in the Civil Court. On these considerations the rules now in force do not provide for the record of separate collections in such a case, although in Dacca and other settlements such separate collections were recorded.

204. The Standard Tenure-tree<sup>—</sup>was an invention perfected in the Bākarganj Settlement as the only means of overcoming the extraordinary difficulties of the tenure system in that district due to subinfeudation run mad. By means of it the consistency in the manner of recording the evolution of the same tenures in different villages was insured, and by it the repetition of the same long-drawn-out enquiries by two officers working in different parts of the same estate was obviated. It did its work as no substitute could have done, but the work it has had to do in other settlements has not been nearly so heavy. To those *Kānungos* and Assistant Settlement Officers who had been brought up with it in Bākarganj and their immediate successors in other settlements it had, however, become a fetish. If two brothers, joint-owners of an estate, had by private arrangement set apart a few plots near their homestead to the one and to the other, and leased them out to separate tenants (or even if the barber who served one brother held one plot of land under one alone rent-free as remuneration for service, while the *dhobi* who served the other similarly held another plot) then the interests of the two brothers were considered separate and recorded separately, —not only in their home-village but in every other village to which the estate extended. Every tenant was recorded under two separate interests and every rent divided into two parts. This was carrying standardization to an extreme. The rules as modified in Noakhali insist on the fact that the unit for which the record-of-rights is prepared is the village. Standardization of this sort is not to be carried outside the village. If in the village for which the record is being written the land of two shares of a tenure is for the most part undivided, then one *khatīān* is to be opened for the tenure, but, if for the most part the lands of the shares are separate, then two *khatīāns* are to be opened; and this, quite apart from any considerations as to whether the land of the two shares in other villages is separate or not. On the other hand in Noakhali it has been the rule that no abbreviation of the entry of a list of co-sharers should be allowed to remain, if the complete list of their names was not to be found elsewhere in the record of the same village, and in this way the record of every village has been made complete in itself.

205. One economy in record-writing was employed in Noakhali which was not generally prescribed in the Director of Land Records' Technical Instructions, although section 15 of the *Khānapuri* Rules provides for its use when the Settlement Officer so directs.

Repetition of the *mudāfat* of landlords' interests not made in tenants' *khatīāns*.

Each estate or tenure is locally described either after the name of him who first took settlement or by some other "*mudāfat*" to use the vernacular term. This description is entered in the *khatīān* for that estate or tenure, but in Noakhali has not been carried forward to the *khatīāns* for subordinate tenancies. There, in the columns for the description of the superior interests, besides the name of the landlord only the nature of each interest, *Zamindāri*, *Patni*, *Raiyati*, etc., was entered. The tenant's *khatīān* is primarily for the tenant to show his land, his rent and to whom he has to pay it. Details of the interest of the landlord are entered in the landlords' *khatīān*, and can be found by turning back to it. The number of the *khatīān* to which to turn is to be found in the tenant's *khatīān*. The economy of omitting the *mudāfat*

of landlords' interests from the tenants' *khatīāns* does not save much in printing, because the *khatīāns* of many tenants under the same landlord are printed off without resetting the type in the columns describing the superior right. Nor, when *khānapuri āmins* are paid at a contract rate on the number of plots recorded, is there a money economy at that stage, although a little time is saved. But the *āmins* so often get the *mudāfat* wrong, and much time of the higher paid staff employed at later stages is wasted in correcting it. The economy is, however, not of great importance.

206. How real from the point of view of economy was the advantage of the reform, by which it was no longer necessary to divide the rent which a landlord received, when he owned more than one joint-interest to which a tenant holding was subordinate, will be understood from the following two examples in Noakhali. In the two *parganas* Bedārābād and Amirābād which between them cover 69 sq. miles the rents of the tenants are payable in undivided sums to the "Law Rāj" whose interests over every tenant are as many as 7. If the same rules had been followed as in Dacca every tenant's rent would have been laboriously divided into 7 parts and so recorded. In Noakhali only one lump rent was recorded for each tenancy. In another large estate *Amrābād Khās* the rents of the tenants are collected on behalf of two brothers in one sum from each tenant, for the two brothers hold their property jointly. Partly they realize as proprietors and partly as tenure-holders. The elder has taken a *patni* lease from one group of his co-sharer proprietors whose share makes up with those of the two brothers the whole sixteen annas of the estate, and the younger from another group. In signing the documents by which the *patnis* were created the brothers acted separately and the *patni* of each is a separate interest. If the rules in force in Dacca had been followed in Noakhali, the rent of every tenant would have been split into four parts, one for each brother's proprietary share and one for each *patni*. In Noakhali one sum was recorded for each tenant as paid to the common agent of the two brothers who collects the whole rent. The columns describing the landlord's rights in the tenants' *khatīāns* would have been filled up following the rule in force in Dacca thus :—

Khatian No.	Superior interest.	Respective share.	Rent.
Description in brief.			
A. G. KR. KT.			
2	Zamindāri Khas Amrābād, $\frac{1}{3}$ rd share possessor Gobinda Sundar Singha Chaudhuri ...	5 6 2 2	} Rent divided into four sums.
3	Zamindāri Khas Amrābād, $\frac{1}{3}$ rd share possessor Rām Gopāl Singha Chaudhuri ...	5 6 2 2	
4	Patni Gobinda Sundar Singha, possessor Gobinda Sundar Singha Chaudhuri ...	2 13 1 1	
5	Patni Rām Gopāl Singha, possessor Rām Gopāl Singha Chaudhuri ...	2 13 1 1	
Total rent		...	

The corresponding columns were filled up according to the rules in force in Noakhali as follows :—

Khatian No.	Superior interest.	Respective share.	Rent.
A. G. KR. KT.			
2	Zamindari ...	10 13 1 1	} Only one lump sum recorded.
3	Patni ...	2 13 1 1	
4	And Patni, possessors Gobinda Sundar Singha Chaudhuri, etc. ...	2 13 1 1	

207. The Assistant Settlement Officers and myself always insisted upon the *Kānungo* going to the village the morning an *āmin* was to start the *khānapuri*, and writing up as many of the landlords' *khatīāns* as possible with his own hand. If he got

these correct at the time of *khānapuri* and put the *āmin* in the way of making all the corollary entries in the tenants' *khatiāns* correctly he saved himself much labour later. But unless drilled into it the *Kānungos* were too often willing to let the *āmin* in cases of difficulty leave the column for particulars of the landlords' interests in tenants' *khatiāns* blank. The check of the record of a large number of plots at the *khānapuri* stage by the *Kānungos* was not insisted upon as they are required to check every plot at *bujhārat*. Circle Officers, however, checked a good deal of *khānapuri* to make sure that the *Kānungos* had set their *āmins* working on the right lines. The number of plots found in the 706 square miles of the first block was 1,109,298 which gives an average of 1,571 plots to the sq. mile. The plots were smallest round Feni, but were not much larger anywhere except on the new formations. In the second block the plots were on the average a little larger.

### Between Khanapuri and Bujharat.

208. It is always a rush to get through the work of extraction of the areas of plots and the copying of *khatiāns* for Preliminary office work. tenants between the completion of the *khānapuri* of a village and the time when the *Kānungo* is ready to begin *bujhārat* in it. Much time and much contingent expenditure on carriage of records has been saved by the adoption of the plan of sending only the sheet to the *sadar* office or to a central camp for extraction of the areas of plots, and having the figures entered in the record and copies of *khatiāns* prepared in the *Kānungo's* own camp. Even so, when the new plan was introduced in Noakhali of presenting the landlord before *bujhārat* with copies of all his tenants' *khatiāns* as well as presenting the tenants with theirs, it was only by very careful management that there were always records ready for the *Kānungo* to begin *bujhārat* when he was prepared to do so, without wasting any of the invaluable days of February and March, which, if lost, must be repaid with toil and discomfort in the heat and damp of June or perhaps July. Constant recriminations passed between the camps and the office in which area extraction went on, but the plan of making every *Kānungo* responsible for his own "*Khasra*" and copying work saved a great deal more.

### Bujharat.

209. *Bujhārat* has become a more important stage in the preparation of the record than attestation itself. It was Progress. very carefully done in Noakhali. The work hung on somewhat late in the first season owing to the large number of plots, the fact that there were 14 new *Kānungos* on the staff, and the delay in getting the sheets of Feni *thana* for survey. The rains begin very early in these parts, and, though there was never the necessity for the *bujhārat* to be done from boats as it has sometimes been done elsewhere, the last six weeks of the season's field work was an unpleasant time for us all. Work was often interrupted by showers and at all times had to be carried on with feet in the water or at least still not dry from the last wetting. But the climate is healthy and never very hot. The second season the Jessore Settlement was postponed for a year and all the new *Kānungos* were discharged. The advent of more old *Kānungos* made work easier in Noakhali. That year *bujhārat* finished early in June, so the *Kānungos* had in Noakhali on the whole an easier time than they have usually had in other settlements.

210. During *bujhārat* a feature was made of *thāk* comparison. The *thāk* maps in Noakhali were all prepared by the use of the prismatic compass. Though they are not usually very accurate maps, it is always possible when comparing them with the new map, except in cases where there has been much fluvial action, to discover what lines the *thāk āmin* meant to map when he did his survey. Every *Kānungo* who had many estates to deal with found innumerable instances in which he was able after comparing the *thāk* to record plots in the correct estates, which the landlords' agents before seeing the comparison



had wished to have recorded in others. After the decision of Government in 1915 regarding the use of the *thāk* in the portion of the Sarāil estate surveyed from Dacca, the stah was inclined to think that "the *thāk* was in disgrace," but insistence upon the value and necessity of *thāk* comparison was continued, and I consider that the accuracy of the record owes very much to *thāk* comparison. Only two revenue-paying estates have not found place in the record. One is an Amrābād *tāluk*, and at the time of the last cess return the proprietor stated that he was unable to file a return as none of the land of the estate was in his possession. The other was a resumed *lakheraj* whose area at the time of resumption was only a little over an acre and revenue settled 10 annas 4 pies. Its owner has been dispossessed.

211. It has already been mentioned\* that lists were prepared and printed before work started to show the old numbers of estates against the new ones given in 1887. At the same time were prepared lists showing, by their numbers in Mr. Chandra's jurisdiction lists, the villages in which each estate had land according to the Collector's registers. The Circle Officers and *Kānungos* went out armed with these lists which were printed, and typed lists showing the correct name of each estate in the *thana* where they were to work and a brief note of the persons who were the proprietors. The lists proved extremely valuable. They had not been prepared before field work started in the case of any other settlement in Bengal, but their usefulness certainly repaid the expense and trouble taken in preparing them. The names of all the co-sharer proprietors in each estate were also copied out from the Collector's "Combined Register" on forms printed for the purpose in which there were blank columns, against the column used for these copies, to be filled in by the Assistant Settlement Officers with the names and shares of the proprietors as they found them. Each season the forms for the estates which had land in the area taken up were distributed among the Circle Officers. Each was given the forms for a number of estates which had land in his circle and at the same time a typed list showing the distribution of the forms for other estates among other Circle Officers. He was made responsible for all necessary enquiries regarding the estates made over to him, and knew from the typed list what other officer was responsible for the other estates, so that if he wanted any information regarding one of them he knew to whom to refer. This arrangement was another novelty and one which ensured that enquiries were early set on foot regarding all estates, and avoided what was so common in earlier settlements, cases in which the same enquiries were undertaken by different officers, who thereby wasted much time and gave the landlords much unnecessary trouble. The forms used were checked again at attestation and in the *sadar* office, put up in bound volumes and made over to the Collector so that he may use them in correcting his registers if he wishes.

212. Circle Officers and *Kānungos* went out armed also with copies of the Collectorate Register BII, lists and notes from the Land Acquisition Register No. 6, and, where it had been possible to find the originals, traced copies of maps of land which had been acquired for public purposes. Experience in other districts had shown the difficulty of correcting the record at later stages so that it showed all land held for public purposes. The *Kānungos* and *bujhārat* made every effort to see that such land was correctly entered in the record. Circle Officers also had extracts given them from the schedule which the District Board maintains of the property in its charge. Registers of public lands were prepared at *bujhārat* by the *Kānungos*, checked in the *sadar* office before attestation and all points at which the registers showed signs of being incorrect examined again by the attestation officers. After a final check in *sadar* these registers were made over to the Collector who rewrote his Register BII from them, and supplied me with the new numbers which he had used, so that they were in time to be incorporated in the printed record-of-rights. The old Register BII in Noakhali was very incomplete. It made no mention of any of the important roads except the Chittagong Trunk Road,

\* Vide paragraph 133 above

nor any mention of either branch of the railway line. The record of some of the old roads as the property of Government was contested by landlords; but the decision went against them, for most of the main roads are known to have been in existence earlier than 1852 and therefore vested in Government by Act XLII of 1850. This Act was repealed in 1857, but only after it had done the work it was intended to do.

213. The record of the roadside lands of the Noakhali Branch Railway gave considerable trouble. Land was acquired for the railway at Government's expense and when no longer required by the company was to be made over to the Collector to be disposed of. Just before the Branch Railway Company collapsed, however, its agents illegally if not fraudulently leased the roadside lands to a number of persons. The Assam-Bengal Railway Company which took over the branch line repudiated the settlements, and in 1907 after a survey demarcated what land it wished to retain and made over the remainder to the Collector who put it up for sale. It could not, however, be sold, because the persons who had obtained leases from the agents of the defunct company were in possession and were not prepared to recognize any purchaser as their landlord. In March 1909, Mr. Melitus, Member of the Board of Revenue on a tour of inspection, ordered ejectment suits to be instituted against the "lessees". It was originally intended to institute 8 suits, but the Collector's record-keeper in Noakhali and others closely connected with the Collectorate were among the lessees and no action was taken till the end of 1914 when two suits were instituted in which Government was successful. Government had not claimed or obtained a decree for mesne profits, and other "lessees" were not prepared to leave the lands without being sued in their turn. It was my proposal to treat the roadside lands as a *khās mahāl* and assess revenue under section 104 of the Tenancy Act, but the proposal was not accepted by Government, as according to the instructions contained in rule 136 of the Land Acquisition Manual and the Railway Board's Resolution No. 712-R. C., March 1909, such surplus land is required to be sold and the full proceeds credited to the capital account of the railway, the Assam-Bengal Railway being a State Railway worked by a company under conditions which give it an interest in the surplus profits. Ultimately, notices to quit were issued on the basis of schedules of these lands prepared by the officers of the Settlement Department and more ejectment suits were filed, most of which were finally compromised, the "lessees" buying the lands for 20 years' purchase at a normal rental. As they had already held the lands from 1905 to 1918 without any payment they must be considered to have been treated far more favourably than they deserved.

### Attestation.

214. The *bujhārat* system has made the work of an Attestation Officer, especially in a district like Noakhali where the tenants so well know the extent of their property, their obligations and their rights, very much easier than formerly. It is said that an Assistant Settlement Officer in deciding a dispute usually has to be not only a Judicial Officer but pleader for both sides into the bargain. This was much less the case in Noakhali than elsewhere. Where *bujhārat* had been well done the Attestation Officer had only to look for mistakes in the record of plots when the tenant or one of his neighbours called his attention to a particular point. His main duty was to attest the rent, and since in

Noakhali the rent of most *raiya*t is defined in a registered agreement, the work became very easy. Very few rent disputes were found and very few indeed were the rent disputes which extended to more than a single holding. One of the few rent disputes which was of considerable extent was in the property of the Chaudhuris of Dattapārā, who claimed that a payment called *Dasara* made at the time of the Durga Puja was part of the rent. The Civil Courts in a few instances had given the landlords decrees for it, but Mr. Johnson, Deputy

Collector and Assistant Settlement Officer, who disposed of the objections filed on the point, excluded the payment from the rent. Recent enhancements of rent in the district have been very few and very moderate. I do not remember a single case of an illegal enhancement extending to a considerable number of tenants in the whole district, for there is little of that oppression of the tenants by powerful landlords so common elsewhere. Only a few landlords are held in awe by their tenants and even they—the Dalal Bazar Babus are the most powerful of them—practise their oppression more in their capacity as money-lenders than as landlords, and rather confine it to individuals whom they have brought under their thumb by means of a bond than exercise it upon the body of tenants.

215. The tenants in Noakhali know so well how to take advantage of the provision of the Tenancy Act in their favour that the landlords had almost given up the attempt to enhance their rents by contract. To attempt to enhance them through the Courts was a proposal which commended itself to none of them, for the machinery is expensive and slow, and the institution of such a suit against him would certainly not frighten the average Noakhali *raiyat* into agreeing to an enhancement. The landlords who were not satisfied with their existing rent and glad to get it with as little trouble as possible—this is generally the attitude of the landlords in Noakhali—adopted another expedient for raising money. There is an old custom in the locality by which a *raiyat* on payment of *sālāmi* (a cash premium) to his landlord can get himself promoted to the status of a tenure-holder. The tenures thus created are given the descriptions *Patni*, *Shikimi*, *Haola*, etc., which ordinarily belong to true middle rights. The tenants are ambitious for such promotion for the superior social status which it gives them, and in order to have the right of transferability and admitted fixity of rent. Many landlords have taken advantage of the custom to raise sums of ready money, and the result is the most remarkable feature in the tenure system of the district. There was no doubt as to the correct status of these tenants under the Tenancy Act, which says, section 5(4), "in determining whether a tenant is a tenure-holder or a *raiyat* the Court shall have regard to (a) local custom, (b) the purpose for which the right of tenancy was originally acquired". It was not, however, until I had been Settlement Officer for six months in the district that I realized the extent to which this custom prevailed. A Judicial or Collectorate Officer coming to Noakhali from elsewhere would never realize it unless it were pointed out to him. Accordingly, it was thought worth while by way of explanation to qualify the record of the status of these tenancies and write them tenures "by custom" using the Bengali "*Prathānujāye Madhyaswatwa*".

216. It was not only landlords who realized the whole of the rent of their tenants that took advantage of the custom. Cases frequently came to light in which one of a number of co-sharers had accepted a premium from the tenants and recognized them as tenure-holders for his share only. In such cases one *khatiān* was still retained for the holding and a remark entered after the rent recorded against the name of that particular co-sharer to show what had taken place. The wording used for such a remark was, for example, "*atra angshē patni sristi haiāchhe*," "for this share a *patni* has been recognized". In the first block, Thanas Begamgānj, Noakhali, Feni, Sandwip and Companyganj, the status of the tenant was entered as *raiyati* for the whole holding on the consideration that as far as the other co-sharers were concerned the holding was still an undivided *raiyati* holding, and that the remark was sufficient to make it clear what had happened. But in the second block, Thanas Lakshmipur, Ramganj and Hātiā, this procedure was changed and the status column of the *khatiāns* showed "for such a share *raiyat* and for such a share tenure-holder".

217. In some parts, especially in the centre of the mainland, there were cases in which after the payment of the premium such a holding took the description "*Kāemi raiyati*" which locally means a *raiyati* holding at rent fixed in perpetuity and in which the *raiyat* has the right of transfer. The transaction was very

nearly the same as that previously mentioned, the main difference being that the tenant retained the appellation *raiyyat*, and did not obtain the social distinction which he who became a *Shikimidār* or *Patnidār* obtained.

218. The frequency of transactions of both kinds meant that both landlords and tenants knew perfectly well what holdings were holdings at fixed rents and what were not. The tenants ordinarily recognized that holdings to which the custom had not been applied were not *mukarari* (held at rents fixed in perpetuity) and did not attempt to take advantage of the presumption laid down in section 50 (2) of the Tenancy Act at attestation. That sub-section when applied in a district like Noakhali is very unfair to the landlords and it is something to the credit of the tenants that they did not more often try to take advantage of it at the attestation stage.

219. In Parganas Amirābād and Bedārābād,\* where the *raiyyats* had been promoted wholesale to the status of tenure-holders, some peculiar difficulties arose at attestation. I would commend an examination of the tenure system in those two *parganas* to those who advocate a legislative step which will render all *raiyyati* holdings transferable without the consent of the landlord. The effect of the settlements with the tenants as tenure-holders with the right of transfer has produced a state of things which is exactly what would arise if the proposed enactment were put into force without some carefully contrived safeguards. Tenants sell small parcels of their lands to others, themselves apportioning the amount of rent to fall on each small parcel, and entering particulars in the deed of transfer which is registered. The landlord does not take his landlord's fee and knows of the transfer only when the tenant brings it to his notice, which he does not usually do. In any case the landlord cannot be expected to be willing to accept an unending subdivision of the *tāluka*s and their rents, and the result is that the number of co-sharers is continually being multiplied. Often co-sharers of the same *tāluka* do not know one another's names. They pay their rent according to the agreement with the vendor at the time they purchased, and receive what is known as a *mārphat dākhila*, i.e., a receipt stating that such a sum has been paid by so and so in the name of the original holder which appears in the landlords' books. Every thing goes smoothly until some co-sharer does not pay his rent. Then the landlord goes to Court making all the co-sharers of whom he is able to obtain information parties to the suit. He gets a decree after which the *tāluka* is put up for sale and the purchaser is usually himself. If any co-sharer is omitted from among the parties and the omission is not discovered, as sometimes happens, he remains undisturbed and pays rent to no one. But usually he is afterwards discovered and there is further litigation between the landlord and him. The landlord is not usually anxious to turn out the old tenant, for, if he did so often, the tenants would combine against him. His plan is to leave the old tenants in possession holding his decrees and purchase deeds over their heads, while they are allowed to take their crops and gradually pay back the decretal amount with interest, after which they are admitted to a fresh settlement of the *tāluka* at the old rental and on the same terms as before. The attestation of the *pargana* constantly presented the difficulty of innumerable co-sharers among the tenants, and the cases of the *tāluka*s which the landlord had purchased caused many disputes. The landlords said that the cultivators who had remained in possession were not tenants but trespassers and nothing more. The opposite extreme point of view was that though the cultivators had lost their tenures, they were still to be considered as *raiyyats*, and as they usually held other holdings in the same village, many of them therefore had occupancy rights. The case was exceedingly common in which the *tālukdār* had paid back one or more instalments of his debt, and was undoubtedly being allowed to continue in possession on the understanding that, when he had paid it all with something in addition, he should obtain resettlement. The landlord did not deny the payment of such instalments. In some cases such *tālukdār*s had been in possession five years and even ten years without being able to clear their

\* Vide paragraph 151 above.

debts completely, but there was never any dispute as to the actual facts. In the circumstances I thought it best to record exactly what had happened and fill in the tenants' *khutiān* thus :—

" *Tāluk* so and so."

" Purchased by the landlord so and so in execution of a decree dated so and so ; pending completion of negotiations for repayment of the decretal amount (*decree tākā mīmāṅśa shāpakshe*)"

" in possession so and so."

Still in the hope of getting the *tālukdārs* recorded as trespassers the landlords (Rājā Hrishikesh Lāhā and his co-sharers) addressed a petition to Government. The Director of Land Records heard their lawyer in Calcutta, but came to the same conclusion as mine that there was undoubtedly an understanding by which the *tālukdārs* remained in possession, and, when the decretal amount was repaid, would be admitted to resettlement. The lawyer promised that if the words "*decree tākā mīmāṅśa shāpakshe*" were excluded the agents of the estate in the locality would supply statements of the instalments already paid to be entered in the remarks columns of the *khutiāns*. Accordingly, those words were ordered to be omitted, but the local agents of the estate first tried to throw the onus on the tenants of supplying the figures, and afterwards in spite of all the Attestation Officers could do supplied no figures themselves. So the record stands a little unintelligible and it is partly with the idea of making its meaning clear that I have gone into the matter at such length in this report. At the time it was my advice to the landlords' agents that their best plan would be to admit the *tālukdārs* as *raiya*t and make use of the provision of section 105 to have a fair rent settled for them. Though they would not accept this advice at the time, because it would make the decretal amounts in many cases nothing but bad debts when the record was finally published, I was surprised to find that they had filed a number of applications under section 105 in these very cases. The case work officer should, I think, have rejected them on the ground that there had been an understanding which amounted to a contract between the *tālukdārs* and the landlords and that contract held until it was proved to have been cancelled, but he did not do so. He settled rents for the tenants at average *raiya*t rates.

220. As might have been expected after what has been said there are practically no tenures in the permanently-settled estates of the district for which the rent is subject to periodical revision and enhancement. The attested record showed some tenures held at rent liable to enhancement, but these were not many, and often the reason why the entry was made was that the tenure-holders, either from indifference or from inability to find it, were not able to produce evidence of the origin of their tenures or evidence pointing to the probability that their settlement was in perpetuity. The remaining tenures were not all found to be held under the same conditions as to their rent. The descriptions of them afford no guide. The words *patni*, *shikimi*, *hāola*, etc., with the corresponding names used when subinfeudation has gone further, *darpatni*, *sepatni*, *darshikimi*, *nim-hāola*, etc., describe tenures which in Noakhali may all be of exactly the same nature. All that are called *patnis* do not come under the provisions of the *Patni Regulation* of 1819. On the other hand certain tenures that are called *shikimis* and even *hāolas* are brought to sale under the "Sunset Law". The conditions as to the rent of these tenures is entered in three different ways in the record, and it will be well to detail carefully what is the significance of each manner of entry. The most common entry which will be found is *khājana briddhir ajogya* "rent not liable to enhancement". This does not mean that if the tenure is found upon measurement to cover a larger area than that for which the rent was settled, an enhancement on the ground of increase of area may not be obtained by the landlord under section 52 of the Tenancy Act. Only when the tenure-holder and landlord have contracted themselves out of the right to obtain a reduction or an enhancement for change of area by a specific provision in the contract between them does section 52 not apply. In such cases the rent has been recorded "not liable to enhancement" and further a

note has been added stating specifically that section 52 is not applicable. When section 52 applies, it is left to the Court to fix a fair rent for the excess area or a fair reduction if it is less than it was. In the third mode of recording the entry has been *nirekh kāemi* "at a rate fixed in perpetuity". This has been used when the contract between the tenure-holder and his landlord specifically states that, if any excess area is found upon measurement at any time, it shall be liable to assessment at the same rate as that of the original settlement. The entry *nirekh kāemi* is, therefore, one more favourable to the tenure-holder than the entry *khājana briddhir ajogya* for it limits the enhancement which can be placed on excess area. Instances were found in which the contract between the landlord and tenant provided that, if an increase of area were found on measurement the landlord could claim enhancement of rent, but, if a decrease were found, the tenant could not obtain a remission. Legally, such a provision is binding in the case of a tenure-holder (cf. section 179 of the Tenancy Act), but these instances came from the Courjon estate (now belonging to the Law Rāj); the tenures were tenures by promotion and the holders ordinary cultivators who at the time, 1865 and 1869, when the tenures were created were much in awe of their landlords, the Courjons, and had not been touched by the education which has now reached so many of them. In that estate the tenures have merely been recorded *prathānujāye madhyaswatwa khājana briddhir ajogya* "tenures by custom, rent not liable to enhancement" without any further note regarding the applicability of section 52.

221. There was a case regarding one of the *nirekh kāemi* tenures which was fought up to the Privy Council a few years back. The ruling is not one applicable to all such tenures, for the *patta* (original lease) in this case was strongly worded in favour of the tenant. A *nirekh kāemi* tenure in Char Algi, a village a few miles east of Noakhali on the coast, was partly diluviated. Twice the tenure-holder took abatement of rent before reformation began. When the whole tenure reformed the tenure-holder sued for possession, got possession of the land as reformation *in situ*, and holds it at the original rate. The decision seems somewhat hard on the landlord. If he had taken remission of revenue for diluvion he could not have claimed reformation *in situ* and if he had obtained possession as an accretion he would have been liable to such assessment as the Diara Survey Authorities might decide. The Privy Council's decision was based on the agreement between the landlord and tenant by which the tenure was created.

222. There was the strongest objection on all sides to the application of "merger" in the case of tenures. It is alien to the principles of land-tenure which appear to have been held in this country in earlier times, and was a novelty in the law of the land when it was introduced by the Transfer of Property Act. Such landlords as the Dālāl Bāzār Bābus, who hold many *benāmi* tenures and other tenures to which merger could be applied, object to it because it may rob them of a handle for crooked dealings in the future, but it was surprising to find the agents of such an estate as that of Rājā Irishikesh Lāhā and his co-sharers so vehement against the merger of *tālucs* under themselves which they have purchased, and the lands of which they have again let out. Ultimately, in cases where the applicability of the principle was questioned, it was found necessary to record all such tenures as would otherwise have been merged if they originated before the passing of the Transfer of Property Act.

223. There is evidence that in part of the district before the Tenancy Act came into force there was an understood and definite distinction between the holding in which a *raiya*'s homestead was situated and other holdings which he might possess consisting of agricultural land only. The latter holdings were called *jots* to distinguish them from the *raiya* holdings containing the homestead, and the cultivator had not the same unquestionable rights of occupancy in the *jot* lands. The nomenclature survives in some parts of the district, for example in Pargana Jugidiā, but cultivators so well know the provisions of the Tenancy Act in their favour that none would now think of quitting his *jot* lands sooner



than his *raiya* lands. There are in fact no peculiarities with regard to *raiya* holdings in the district. The status of the holders of all of them now conforms with the provisions of the Tenancy Act.

224. The Bengal Tenancy Act does not appear to contemplate a permanent under-*raiya* but in Noakhali under-*raiya*s

Under-*raiya*s. were not always let into the land for a specific period. Often when there were written and registered contracts between them and the *raiya*s under whom they held; in which a term of years was mentioned, they continued to hold indefinitely. Homesteads in under-*raiya* holdings are common and in some localities at least there may be said to be a local custom by which under-*raiya*s obtain occupancy rights. The record of occupancy rights in under-*raiya* holdings according to such custom was unfortunately somewhat differently treated in different localities in which attestation was done by different officers. Custom proves elusive when its existence is called in question. One Attestation Officer, a Munsif, was found to have been refusing to admit this custom from the evidence of his own experience in the locality, but requiring the under-*raiya* to produce instances from the locality in which the Civil Courts had admitted the custom. Others seeing how often under-*raiya*s had built homesteads on the holdings and how long they had been in occupation recorded occupancy rights for under-*raiya*s perhaps too freely. The matter was undoubtedly one of considerable difficulty and one in which conditions varied considerably in localities not far apart.

#### Draft Publication and Objections under Section 103A.

225. This stage of the Settlement Procedure was taken very seriously both by landlords and tenants in Noakhali. Arrangements for draft publica- Forms upon which to file objections were supplied tions. *gratis* to the public and parties were allowed to take any such pencil notes from the record as they wished. The only precaution that was taken was that the record remained in the charge of a muharrir in a place where that was going on could be watched, and no one was allowed to approach the record with a pen in his hand. The records of all villages were draft published for one month. This period was in the case of certain large villages extended to two or even three months. As this stage, when the parties fully understand it and appreciate the advantage it gives them, affords a valuable opportunity for the correction of mistakes in the record, objections were not refused merely because they were filed after the date on which draft publication was over. If the objector added a petition on which another 8-anna stamp was placed, stating some reason for the delay in filing, the objection officers were instructed to accept such an objection up till the time when notices were being issued for the disposal of the other objections referring to the record of the same village. The total number of objections filed in Noakhali was 26,466, 20 per sq. mile over the whole area dealt with, 68 per thousand *khatians* and about 24 per thousand of the population. In the Dacca Settlement objections were 15 per sq. mile, 31 per thousand *khatians* and 15 per thousand of the population. The objections in Noakhali were disposed of by eight officers in the first block and by six in the second block. The cost of their disposal amounted approximately to Rs. 20,000 exclusive of the cost of supervision, while the Court-fees amounted to about Rs. 13,500, so that some Rs. 6,506 remained to be adjusted along with the bulk of settlement costs.

226. An examination of the number and nature of the objections filed and of the decisions passed upon them affords Analysis of objection. valuable evidence not only of the character of the people of the district, but of the degree of accuracy of the draft record. That a very large number of objections is filed may sometimes mean that the record was not accurately prepared, but in Noakhali the reason for it is to be found in the intelligence of the people and their familiarity with judicial forms, which enabled them to take advantage of this stage of the procedure to an extent which myself and my officers could not fail to

remark. In analysing the objections in the following manner a comparison is made with the figures of a similar analysis given by the Settlement Officer in Dacca in his Final Report :—

In Noakhali.	In Dacca.	
Per cent.	Per cent.	
67·3	60	were with regard to possession and shares.
8·6	19	ditto to rent.
9·1	10	ditto to mukrari rights.
1·3	1	ditto to rent-free rights.
13·7	10	ditto to status and incidence.

This comparison brings out strongly the fact that in Noakhali the landlords and tenants are in much better accord with one another on questions of rent than in Dacca.

As regards the parties to the objections :—

In Noakhali.	In Dacca.	
Per cent.	Per cent.	
11·7	23	of the objections were between landlord and landlord.
33·2	41	ditto landlords <i>versus</i> tenants.
18·6	14	ditto tenants <i>versus</i> landlords.
34·6	28	ditto between tenant and tenant.
1·4	1	ditto landlord or tenant against the record.
·5	1	ditto miscellaneous.

In Dacca 64 per cent. of the objections were filed by landlords, in Noakhali only 44 per cent. In the first year's block 23 per cent. of the objections were filed by tenants against their landlords and 6 per cent. were between landlord and landlord. It was the second year's block, most of which is in the hands of small middlemen who had many disputes with one another, that brought the percentage of objections between landlord and landlord up to 11·7 per cent. and correspondingly reduced the percentage by tenants against landlords to 18·6 per cent. The comparison shows how much more the tenants in Noakhali were able to appreciate what draft publication means than those in Dacca and how much more able they are to stand up against their landlords in litigation.

The decisions in objection in Noakhali and in Dacca stand compared as follows :—

In Noakhali.	In Dacca.	
Per cent.	Per cent.	
7·0	7	were undisputed cases for corrections.
15·9	20	were disputed cases in which the record was reversed in the item to which objection was made.
21·4	22	were disputed cases in which the record was modified in the item to which objection was made.
55·6	51	were disputed cases in which the record was upheld.

The number of undisputed corrections—it was 1,866 in Noakhali—although small compared with the number in Faridpur, where in 18 per cent. of the objections undisputed corrections were made, may at first sight appear high. 1,366 of those in Noakhali, however, were with regard to possession and shares, and almost all of these arose from persons having died between attestation and the filing of the objection. The substitution of the names of heirs whose rights were not questioned was a matter to which unreal importance was often attached. The reduction of the percentage of cases in which the record was reversed, from 20 in Dacca to 15·9 in Noakhali, is an advertisement of the greater accuracy of the draft record in Noakhali. That objections were withdrawn or dismissed in default in only 1,011 cases is an advertisement of the keenness which the Noakhali people showed in contesting these cases.

### Final Office Work.

227. It is in the final stages of the preparation of the record-of-rights that this settlement can claim to have made the most conspicuous advance from its predecessors. The improvement has not been in the actual printing of the record, but in the co-ordination of the final check of the record, final examination of the sheets, collection of statistics, Road Cess Revaluation, which by orders of Government was done in Noakhali on the basis of the draft record-of-rights, and computation of costs, with a view to saving double work, and especially double handling of the bulky volumes of the hand-written record. The result has been so eminently satisfactory that in this matter the Tippera and Noakhali Settlement may serve as a model for Bengal Settlements in the future. Even in the first block, although it takes time to set the work of such an office as a Settlement Office in running order, all these branches of the work, including calculation of cess on the new revaluation in time to print it as part of the record, were completed and the *khatiāns* printed so that one-third of the record of the first block was finally published within 12 months of the disposal of objections under section 103A and the final publication of the rest of the block followed immediately after. The rules for Cess Revaluation used in this Settlement are to be found printed in Appendix VII to this Report. They have been reproduced *in extenso*, because they are the last words on the subject which will be spoken for some time, for Cess Revaluation is not being made on the basis of the draft record in Jessore, Bankura and Nadia, the districts lately taken up, because they have enabled the work to be carried out so expeditiously and because they introduced economies both in office routine and in regard to such matters as the service of notices which might well be imitated when Cess Revaluation is not in the hands of the Settlement Officer.

228. The final *jānch* (scrutiny) of the record was carried out in camps during the recess after the attestation season and while the disposal of objections was going on. Steps were taken so that it should be finished along with objections before the Puja holidays each year. The "recess" is a time of year when, not only the field *Kānungos* and Revenue Officers who are not Assistant Settlement Officers and cannot, therefore, dispose of objections under section 103A, but also a large number of competent clerks, *badar āmins* and attestation *muharrirs*, have no work to do either in the field or in the attestation camps. The work of final *jānch* was pushed through in the recess in order that *Kānungos* and Revenue Officers, whose pay would otherwise be debited to the head of Supervision and for whom Settlement Officers in the past have found it difficult to find full employment during that time, and the best of the clerks whose pay is drawn under the head of Job and Contract and who in the recess were formerly thrown out of employment, might do the work there was to be done. A Revenue Officer was in charge of each *Jānch* Camp with two or three *Kānungos* to help him. These men themselves checked whether the decisions in disputes and objections had found place correctly in the record, called parties to supply information for correcting mistakes or completing omissions which were detected during the check, supervised the work of the clerks, dealt with references from them and finally passed each village record when the work was finished. The spade work was done by some ten clerks in each camp of which there were eight in the first block and five in the part of the second block in Noakhali. Besides the scrutiny of the record in the *Jānch* Camps the calculation of cess for all those recorded as under-*raiya*ts, *raiya*ts and "tenure-holders by custom" was completed, the maps were checked in detail and lists were prepared of those interests for which free copies of the vandyked maps were to be distributed along with the printed *khatiāns* at the time of final publication. The check of the maps was able to be done in camp because good *bādar āmins* were available. They showed in blue ink on the sheets everything that had to appear in the final maps, *ālāmats* (signs for trees, houses, etc.), names of adjoining *mauzas* and marginal references to plots numbered out of the serial order, numbers in the serial for which there were no corresponding plots, the numbers standing for

roads and streams, etc. The sheets, therefore, went in to the Drawing Section in the *Sadar* Office with no more to be done to them than to ink them up in black. There was no necessity for the draughtsmen to refer to the plot index or the *khatīāns*, over doing which they managed to waste so much of their time in other Settlements. For the check of the record after attestation an Attestation *Jānch* Form\* had been devised which would enable the calculation of cess and the compilation of statistics of rent and tenancies to be carried out from it after final *jānch* without referring to the *khatīān* volumes. This form was used again at final check and corrected to follow the record when changes were made in the latter in carrying out orders passed under section 103A.

229. After the records came in from the *jānch* camps the bulky volumes of *khatīāns*, plot index, *khasra*, etc., were deposited in the record room and it was the Attestation *Jānch* Form that took their place and upon which what work remained was done. This arrangement was perhaps the most important economy which this Settlement introduced. To one not acquainted with Settlement work it may appear a small thing, but not to one with experience in such matters. It has always been found necessary in Bengal that the original records in the *Sadar* Office shall be stored in the Record Room, and that every volume of *khatīāns* taken out each day shall be returned to the Record Room for the night. If this precaution were not taken forgeries and interpellations would be innumerable. When the bundles of village records have to pass out of the Record Room in the *Sadar* Office—in Faridpur the D. R. T. Branch and Statistical Branch each turned over the pages of the *khatīāns* once and the Cess Branch twice—not only is an increased record room staff necessary besides extra clerks in each branch to receive and return the bundles, but though the record-keepers may come early and go late it is inevitable that much of the clerks' time is wasted before they can get to work on the records with which they have to deal. In Noakhali the record of each village before printing passed into the Vernacular Office once and once only.

230. When the clerks in the *jānch* camps had done their work, it remained for the Cess Branch of the *Sadar* Office to calculate the valuation for each estate and for each of the middle rights within the estate, except *raiyaṭi* holdings†, part of which were subplot and what had been recorded as "tenure by custom". The difficulty of the work lay in the fact that the record is prepared village by village, but this calculation has to be done estate by estate and for each tenure under the estate. There may be many estates and tenures in a village and each one probably extends to several other villages. During the short time I was Settlement Officer of Faridpur in 1912, I made an attempt to systematize this permutation from *mauzawār* (village by village) to *mahālwar* (estate by estate), but when Mr. Prance returned from leave he considered that, as the work of Cess Revaluation was so far completed, it was not worth while to enforce a change in the old haphazard method, for the work would have been finished before the clerks adapted themselves to it. In Dacca Settlement the work of the Cess Branch in *Sadar* was no more systematic. In Noakhali there were separate pages of the Attestation *Jānch* Form for each estate in each village and from it the necessary figures for the valuation of each tenure in the block of land belonging to each estate were collected on the form called "Cess Register of Tenures A" (C. R. T. A). When this was done these forms with the corresponding pages of the Attestation *Jānch* Form were sorted and pigeon-holed‡ estate by estate. The Head Clerk kept a register in which he marked off villages which had passed through this stage. He also had a list showing the villages in which each estate had land. As soon as all the villages for one estate were ready, the pigeon-hole was emptied and its contents made over to a clerk who brought together the figures from the C. R. T. A forms for each tenure within the estate and for

\* This form will be found with the forms used for Cess Revaluation in Appendix VII.

† A *raiyaṭi* is differently defined in the Cess Act and in the Tenancy Act.

‡ Actually pigeon-holes were not used, but the papers were placed serially on racks according to the number of the estates.

the estate itself in the form "Cess Register of Tenures B," and completed the calculation of the total valuation and cess payable on account of each. At the same time he added a note on each C. R. T. A form showing what the correct "*barāt* reference" should be which would appear in the final record, *i.e.*, the correct cross-reference to appear upon a *khatiān*, if it was not the *khatiān* in which the rent or revenue of the interest was recorded to show where the record of rent was to be found, and on the *khatiān* in which the rent had been recorded to show what *khatiāns* in other *mauzas* referred to the same interest. The C. R. T. B form in the case of each estate or tenure was pinned with the C. R. T. A form for the village in the record of which the rent or revenue was recorded. When this was complete the bundle for each estate was split up village by village, again pigeon-holed and again the progress entered in the Head Clerk's register. When he saw that the C. R. T. B work had been finished for every estate in a village he called for the record of that village from the record room. The pages were turned over once only. The cess was entered and the Register of Demands of Settlement Costs filled up to the extent of writing the description and holder's name and address for each interest for which rent was recorded in the village. "*Barāt* references" were checked at the same time and the record went back to the record room ready to go to the press.

Government's order under section 114 of the Tenancy Act regarding the apportionment of costs required landlords and tenants to pay in Noakhali as settlement costs a multiple of the cess found due on the new valuation. The Demand Register could now be completed at this stage in the Cess Branch. This was done and books of receipts and counterfoils were filled up. Next the Cess Roll, Public and Office copies, was written up, the description and holder's name and address for each interest being copied from the Demand Register, and the figures from the Cess Revaluation forms. It was necessary to prepare the Demand Register from the record and the Cess Roll from it, and not *vice versa*, because many holdings appeared in the Demand Register which were not required to be entered in the Cess Roll. Extracts from the Roll for service on the tenure-holders and notices under section 40 of the Cess Act for the landlords were written at this stage. All the papers were still *mauzawār* (village by village). The Demand Register, books of receipts and the extracts from the Roll for service remained *mauzawār* and the bundles of them for each *mauza* were made over to the officer who was to undertake recovery of settlement costs. The pages of the Attestation *Jānch* Form remained *mauzawār* and so were made over to the Statistical Branch. The remaining paper, the pages of the Cess Roll, C. R. T. A and B forms and certain others, which did not require to be mentioned in this summary of the work, were again sorted and pigeon-holed, estate by estate, and these went into the Cess files for each estate. When the first village containing a particular estate was finally published and the recovery of settlement costs and service of extracts from the Cess Roll began, the Cess Deputy Collector (Maulvi Abdul Jalil Khan, Head-quarters Assistant Settlement Officer, had the necessary powers) passed an order for the draft publication of the Cess Roll. When the service of extracts for the last village in which the estate had lands was completed and his copy of the Roll was made over to the proprietor, the Roll was completely put into draft publication. Within one month of the date of the order which recorded this, objections against the Cess Revaluation could be filed. When these were disposed of, the Cess Revaluation became final, and, as the original notification had been published mentioning the estates separately, the new cess became due at the beginning of the next Bengali year after the revaluation of each one was complete.

231. The preparation of statistics was done in two parts. Statistics of the employment of the land and crops were prepared from the *khasra* during the first recess each year after *bujhārat* was completed. The statistics of rents and tenancies were prepared from the Attestation *Jānch* Form in the *Sadar* Office usually after the Attestation *Jānch* Form was no longer required in the Cess Branch, although sometimes according to convenience the statistical work was taken up first. Slips with compartments corresponding to the columns of the statistical form, reproduced in Appendix D to this report, were filled in from

separate pages of the attestation *jānch* form for each estate in a village. The *mauzawār* statistics were completed from these and they were then sorted and filed estate by estate. When, as in the Cess Branch, the *Peshkār* in charge saw from his progress register that the *mauzawār* work had been finished for all the villages in which an estate had land, he made over all the slips for the estate to a clerk who prepared the *mahālwar* statistics.

232. Two sheds with brickwork plinths, cemented floors, mat walls on a wooden framework and red Dacca tiles were put up in 1916 to house the presses. They were built departmentally and cost only Rs. 11,000 against the Public Works Department's estimate of Rs. 16,000. Fourteen hand presses were received with their auxiliary furniture from the Dacca Settlement at the end of 1916 and work started in February 1917. Three more presses came in June 1917 and the last of the complement of 18 was received in January 1918. Most of the compositors came from Dacca, but a few also from Midnapur and Mymensingh and a few local men were trained. A certain number of the menials also came from Dacca. The compositor staff was expected to be an element very difficult to control, but by his tact and care the Superintendent of the Press, Babu Purnendu Nath Guha, a *Kānungo*, was able to keep the work going smoothly. The compositors are men of the *bhadralok* classes, but of so little education that they would be unable to find such employment as their caste prejudices would allow them to accept in any other than work of this sort. They are improvident and sensitive. The promotion of a menial such as an inkboy or pressman to be a compositor was always out of the question. It would have offended them so much as to make them strike work. They were paid at contract rates and after a monthly calculation of their earnings. Towards the end of the month they worked with feverish energy to swell the payment they would receive, and at the beginning of the month slacked off to give themselves a rest. How much this was the case will be seen from the following typical statement of the daily outturn of interests and lines printed in a month (August 1918) :—

	Date.	Interests.	Lines.
1st	...	680	10,053
2nd	...	1,191	15,131
3rd	...	1,370	16,210
4th	Sunday.		
5th	...	1,403	15,803
6th	...	1,329	10,456
7th	...	1,314	14,626
8th	...	132	1,365
9th	...	1,597	16,833
10th	...	1,890	19,164
11th	Sunday.		
12th	...	1,851	18,520
13th	...	1,892	18,083
14th	...	2,091	19,576
15th	...	2,181	20,736
16th	...	2,268	20,646
17th	...	1,467	14,129
18th	Sunday.		
19th	...	2,151	20,835
20th	...	2,351	21,907
21st	...	2,633	23,450
22nd	...	2,594	23,905
23rd	...	2,358	22,943
24th	...	2,344	22,427
25th	Sunday.		
26th	...	2,423	23,420
27th	...	2,308	22,499
28th	...	2,598	23,939
29th	Holiday for Janmastami.		
30th	...	2,499	21,397
31st	...	2,415	25,818
Total	...	49,330	485,871

\* His Excellency Lord Ronaldshay inspected the office on that day and after he left the press was given a half-holiday.



There was a similar feverish activity each year before the Puja holidays, and when the time drew near for calculating the outturn upon which a bonus was to be declared for the presses which had done best. The system in Dacca where electric light was installed in the press buildings fostered such irregularity and was bad for discipline. To divide the compositors into two shifts was not possible owing to the fact that, either one shift would have to use the other shift's galleys and much time would be lost in breaking up type, for instance the columns for landlords' names which were repeated in several tenants' *khatians*, or else a double set of galleys and much more type would have had to be purchased. In Dacca the compositor might work on at night as long as he liked. After some months of working in Comilla with regular hours the regularity and discipline of the press improved greatly, and it was found after a time that the average monthly outturn of a press actually beat the average of Dacca at its best. In the appearance of the printed record also there was much improvement. This again was mainly due to the care which the Superintendent took to see that lines were kept straight and that the quads and spaces to the correct quantity were used all down the same column. He also insisted that the ink boys should pass the roller along the length of the galleys instead of across. If passed across, the roller is liable to touch the quads in the middle of a long empty column and these to mark the paper.

Ultimately, the distributors of type were no longer employed. They gave great trouble in Faridpur and elsewhere. They were paid at contract rates, and, when the type had been weighed out to them to be distributed letter by letter, they would get rid of it by all manner of means rather than go through the labour of sorting it. In this settlement the compositors sorted their own type.

233. To each press with its six compositors there were a *peshkār* or proof-reader and an assistant. It was found that there was usually enough work for two men, and the permanent association of the second man with the press, instead of his temporary employment with it when there was very much proof-reading to be done, so that he shared any bonus the press might win, paid in full for the few occasions when he was not really required. When a page had been set up a "galley proof" was taken. This was checked and the "galley" corrected. When four "galleys" were ready and set up in the press, a press proof was taken and only when this had been corrected was the record printed. When each village record was complete it was passed out of the press sheds to the main office building in a section of which was the "Final Check Branch". Here a thorough check was again made by groups of clerks sitting in pairs. These made a list of the mistakes they found. The Head Checker again checked 10 per cent. The list passed to a *Kānungo* employed in this branch who examined whether the mistakes had been properly classified as very serious, serious, slight or due to office mistakes in the original record. For very serious mistakes the page had to be reprinted by the press responsible without repayment. The press *peshkār* had to correct other mistakes by blocking out the mistaken entry and printing the correct one in its place. There was also a system of fines for mistakes, which had to be paid partly by the press *peshkār* and partly by the compositors. When the Dacca staff first came and began work it was found that the fines threatened to reduce the wages of the proof-readers so far as to leave them not enough to live on. Later on they kept the mistakes down to a very small number. If the work they did when they first came was the work they used to do in Dacca, then the work of the Final Check Branch in Dacca must have been very carelessly done. The final record as it went out to the landlords and tenants in Noakhali contained very few mistakes, and there were only very few complaints on this score from the public, who were told in such cases to file petitions for correction under section 108A of the Tenancy Act.

234. Not a little of the smooth working of the press in Comilla was due to the arrangement made for the compositors to live in a hostel put up for the District Board's Technical School, but disused. This was hired at such a rate that compositors could live in it for a few annas a month to make up the rent, and a

contractor fed them for some Rs. 7 a head per month. The hostel was under the eye of the Superintendent of the Press and the compositors appear to have lived healthily and contentedly in it. The climate of Comilla, practically free from malaria, was also a great asset.

## CHAPTER II.

### Government and Temporarily-settled Estates ; Assessment of Rent and Revision of Land Revenue.

235. No detailed description of the Government and temporarily-settled estates, their history, tenure systems and assessment was given in Part II of this Report as it was required to be given in full here. These estates generally mark the formations new since the Revenue Survey, but include also certain older properties of Government or belonging to private persons outside the Permanent Settlement, which for one reason or another were not "*dāimi*" settled" in the middle of last century. These estates may be divided according to locality into six groups :—

Six groups of estates.

The Sandwip group.

The Bāmni group along the Little Feni river and on either side of its mouth.

The island group near Noakhali.

The North Hātiā group.

The South Hātiā group.

The North-Western group, formations in the bed of the Meghna.

The geographical position of the Government and temporarily-settled estates is shown on the map which will be found in Appendix IV of this report.

In Appendices IX to XV are given—

- (a) List of Government estates of which revision of revenue was made.
- (b) List of temporarily-settled private estates of which revision of revenue was made.
- (c) List of Government estates of which no revision of revenue was made.
- (d) List of temporarily-settled private estates of which no revision of revenue was made.
- (e) List of Government estates without demand (mostly diluviated).

#### The Sandwip Group of Estates.

236. In the North-Western corner of the island there still remains undiluviated a small piece of Char Siddhi which was once more than 50 square miles in extent. Against it there is a small *diara* estate No. 1573 and the rest of the northern part of the island is *khās mahāl*. The large estates, No. 1666, Char Badu Lakshmi and No. 1667, Char Pirkaksha, originally formed as islands between Char Siddhi and Sandwip. The Southern part of the island consists of Pargāna Niz Sandwip with a few small estates two of which, those bearing *Tauzi* Nos. 1612 and 1664, have become the property of Government by purchase in revenue sales. There is a fringe of newer formations from Char Rahim on the

Estates of Sandwip group.

North-West round by the North and East of Char Magdharā in the South-East. The villages Char Rahim, Char Hudrākhali, Char Dirghapār, Char Santoshpur,

The "Char" villages.

Char Gāchuā, Char Bāuriā, Char Kuchiāmora, Char Kāchiāpār and part of Char Magdharā formed between 1830, about which date the various shares of the pargana\* came into Government's hands, and the Revenue Survey. When the shares of the pargana other than the share known as Taraf Bhawāni Charan were "dāimi" settled in 1870 these chars were not included. Taraf Bhawāni Charan had been returned to its original owners. They subsequently laid claim to the Bhawāni Charan share of these chars and their claim was acceded to.† Thus, the ownership of the 11-anna odd share of the chars vested in Government and that of the remaining 4-anna odd was included in the Zamindāri Taraf Bhawāni Charan. In Char Hudrākhālī Government's share was "dāimi" settled but in the other chars it remained khās. By the time of the Diara

The "Thak" villages.

Survey of 1881 there had been further accretions on the east side of Sandwip. Thāk Hudrākhālī, Thāk Dirghapār, Thāk Santoshpur, Thāk Gāchuā, Thāk Bāuriā, Thāk Kuchiāmora and Thāk Kachiapar had formed and Char Magdharā had grown. None of these villages were as large as they are now, but what there was of them was resumed under Act IX of 1847 and formed a series of temporarily-settled estates which have increased to their present extent. The proprietary right in Thāk Hudrākhālī belonged 4 annas odd to the zamindars of Taraf Bhawāni Charan and 11 annas odd to the owners of the "dāimi" settled shares of Char Hudrākhālī. The proprietary right in the rest belonged 4 annas odd to the zamindars of Taraf Bhawani Charan and 11 annas odd to Government. These were the conditions in 1914. The case of Char Magdharā will be dealt with later. There were a few small blocks of land in the interior of the island which were in the same circumstances as the char villages, e.g., Char Harisipur, an alluvial formation in the bed of the Harisipur Khal very close to the thana headquarters.

237. Both in the Thāk and Char villages Government had the right to realize a share of the rent from all the tenants and the private proprietors another share.

Partition proposed.

In the "Char" villages at each resettlement of land revenue it was only for Government's share that the assessment had to be revised, but it was necessary to survey the whole of the villages in order to do this. It seemed to suggest an obvious economy to propose a separation of Government's and the private proprietors' shares, and both the Collector and the private proprietor appreciated this. Certain of these villages had just been surveyed in the Minor Settlement Operations under the supervision of the Collector when the District Settlement Operations commenced. These were Char Dirghapār, Thāk Dirghapār, Char Bāuriā, Thāk Bāuriā, Char Kāchiāpār, Thāk Kāchiāpār and in the interior Char Harisipur and Char Sultānpur. It was necessary to make a fresh record for the five called "Chars" among those, for although they had been completely surveyed, the work had been done under notifications in which the estates comprising Government's share only had been mentioned, and the record had been prepared only for the proportionate area of each plot. The settlement of revenue in Thāk Bāuriā and Thāk

Thāk Bāuria and Thāk Kāchiapār.

Kāchiāpār had not been completed when I joined as Settlement Officer and took over control of the Minor Settlement Operations as well as the District Operations, and I was able on the application of the Collector with the Commissioner's sanction and the co-operation of the private landlords to effect a separation of Government's and the private proprietors' shares in these two villages under the second paragraph of section 10 "ninthly" of Regulation VII of 1822. The settlement of Thāk Dirghapār had been completed and it was not resurveyed.

238. Although after the experience in Dacca and Faridpur it had been decided that proceedings under the Estates Partition Act should not be handed over to the Settlement Department for completion before

Proceeding under the Estates Partition Act.

\* Vide paragraph 155.

† The Board's orders communicated by the Commissioner's letter No. 178, dated 2nd March 1860, to the Collector of Noakhali.

final publication of the record, the Collector, Mr. Prance, and myself arranged that the separation of Government's estates from that of the *zamindars* of Taraf Bhawāni Charan in the villages Char Dirghapār, Char Bāuriā and Char Kāchiāpār and in the small blocks known as Char Harispur, Char Pānchbāriā, Char Ijjatpur and Char Sultānpur, which were not separate villages, should be carried out by the Assistant Settlement Officer in Sandwip. The area was small, the private proprietor was ready to co-operate, and the provision contained in Regulation VII of 1822 for separation was not applicable as the settlement of land revenue had already been completed in the Minor Settlement Operations. There were no appeals against the Assistant Settlement Officer's allotments, the separations were completed and the results incorporated in the records in time for its final publication along with the other villages of the island.

239. Where a settlement of land revenue was being made the 10th section "ninthly" of Regulation VII of 1822 was applied. Under that section on the application either of the Collector or the private proprietors with the previous sanction of the Commissioner, Government's property was separated from that belonging to others in the following villages :—

Chār Santoshpur, Thāk Santoshpur, Char Gāchhuā, Thāk Gāchhuā, Thāk Kuchiāmōrā and Char Magdharā.

\*\*\*The village of Thāk Hudrākhālī was partitioned at the same time at the joint-request of all the proprietors.

240. Government's property remains joint with that of private proprietors in Sandwip only in the following instances; the private proprietors are in every case the *zamindars* of Taraf Bhawāni Charan :—

(a) Chār Rahim : there were difficulties owing to the *zamindar* having often created permanent tenures by promotion for his share of the tenants' holdings and the village is undergoing heavy diluvion.

(b) Thāk Dirghapār : untouched by the District Settlement.

(c) Chār Kuchiāmōrā : both Government's share and the private share in it are covered by the same tenure extending over the whole of the village so that a separation would afford no economy in rent collections.

(d) Char Siddhi : the small block that still remains belongs jointly to Taraf Bhawāni Charan and estate No. 191, one of those *daimi* settled in 1870 which was purchased by Government again at a revenue sale in 1898. The block can only survive diluvion a short time and it was not worth while to make the separation.

(e) Chār Dhupi : a small block in Mauza Chaukātālī in which a single tenure-holder holds under both Government and the private proprietor.

(f) Estate No. 1624 : an old abandoned road in Mauza Rahamatpur. Though very small, the estate consists of a large number of holdings belonging to tenants the bulk of whose land is in the permanently-settled estates of Pargana Niz Sandwip. It was proposed by me that the Collector should farm Government's share with the proprietors of Taraf Bhawāni Charan, who already receive rent from all the tenants for their lands in Niz Sandwip Pargana.

241. The history of Char Magdharā is a curious one. When Sandwip Pargana was in the hands of Government a *diara* suit was filed for the resumption of the accretions to the *shikimi tāluk* of one Krishna Kishore Nandi under Regulation II of 1819, and decreed in favour of Government on 3rd August 1830. How such a suit came to be instituted against a middleman who had no sort of proprietary right it is difficult to understand, and as early as 1847 the Sadar Board remarked this. It was, however, in such a suit that the estate No. 1662 had its origin. The Nandis were small people. The *char* soon grew so large that they could not take settlement of it, and their right in it as tenure-holders therefore disappeared. When, however, the 4-anna odd share in the *chars* round Sandwip was released to the proprietors of Taraf Bhawāni Charan in 1860

they obtained the proprietary right in the 4-anna odd share of the temporarily-settled estate No. 1662 also.

242. For many years before the District Settlement Operations in Noakhali, Collectors and the Collectorate staff had confused estates of which Government was the proprietor and estates which were the property of private persons although they had not been permanently settled. The latter were called "*ijāra mahāts*," although they are nothing of the sort, and the number of mistakes, the origin of which can be traced to this confusion, is very large. Some had serious consequences. The others might have had if the proprietors and their legal advisers had not been as ignorant of the Revenue Law in the matter as the staff of the Collectorate itself. Mistakes were most often made in cases in which private estates happened to have been held *khās* by Government for one reason or another. Though the proprietor of Taraf Bhawāni Charan had the proprietary right to the extent of 4 annas odd in all the "Thāk" villages down the East side of Sandwip, in the case of everyone the Collector had held them *khās* ever since the *Diāra* Survey without once making any offer of settlement to the private proprietor. Each settlement was for 15 years, although the law\* states definitely that no estate shall be ordered to be held *khās* without an offer of settlement being made, except by the orders of the Local Government, and then only for 10 years. Thāk Hudrākhāli, Estate No. 1574, was held *khās* from 1904 to 1918, although in it Government has no share in the proprietary right at all. A strange case resulting from this confusion is that of the *diāra* estate Muklud Shola-anna Estate No. 1582 in South Hātiā for which it was necessary to cancel the Petty Settlement Proceedings after the rent roll had been draft published. The facts of the case will be found in the report for confirmation of the rent roll prepared during the District Settlement Operations. A similar case is that of Estate No. 1569 mentioned in paragraph 263 below. In the case of accretions to the *diāra* estate bearing *Tauzi* No. 1550 belonging to Pargana Amirābād and comprising the village of Gullākhāli in Noakhali Thana which happened to have been held *khās*, a Collector some 18 years ago at the time of resettlement of the estate leased them out to two pleaders of Noakhali treating them as Government's own property. He offered settlement of the estate, but not the accretions to the proprietors, and Government was involved in litigation which lasted till 1916 when the proprietary right was finally admitted to belong to the *zamindars*.

243. All the Government and temporarily-settled estates in the Sandwip Group were ripe for resettlement of land revenue except the few which had recently been dealt with in the Minor Settlement Operations. Two of the largest were selected—one, a fully developed estate, Char Badu Lakshmi, bearing *Tauzi* No. 1666, and the other, a partially developed estate, Char Magdharā, Estate No. 1662—and for these the "rate reports" containing detailed proposals for assessment were submitted to Government† through the Director of Land Records in the summer of 1916. In both cases Government's orders slightly modified the proposals. These orders served as a guide in framing proposals for the assessment of similarly situated estates in the district in which the tenure system was similar also. In Estate No. 1666 the *rai-yats* holding direct from Government have been assessed at Rs. 4-12 per acre, maintaining such contractual rates under middlemen as were higher; the *khās* lands of the tenure-holders were valued at the same rate and an allowance of 40 per cent. was given to them when they are resident on the estate and 35 per cent. when they are non-resident. The tenure-holders are the descendents of those who were the original settlers and brought the islands under cultivation about 1860. So much of their land had been sublet to *rai-yats* and at such high rates that the average *rai-yati* rate in the estate was, before the revision of the assessment, Rs. 5 per acre which was originally proposed to be the rate for *rai-yats* holding direct under Government. At the last settlement of this estate and in fact in almost all

\* Regulation VII of 1922.

† At that time Government itself and not the Board of Revenue was dealing with such matters.

of the assessments made in the district between 1890 and 1910 the tenure-holders were assessed at a definite rate per acre without any reference to rates at which they had sublet and the assets which they derived from their tenants. This manner of assessment was common before the Tenancy Act, but the first Settlement Officer in the district after the passing of the Act, Mr. Nandaji, a Deputy Collector whose work appears to have been very well done, followed the Tenancy Act and assessed tenure-holders on their assets in estates with which he dealt. Outside the *khās mahāls* and temporarily-settled estates in Noakhali district tenures of which the rent is periodically enhanced are practically unknown. No customary rate can, therefore, be said to exist for such tenures, and the only manner under the law in which they are to be treated is by assessing them at a percentage of their assets (*cf.* Bengal Tenancy Act, section 7). This has been the method employed throughout the district in proceedings in which Government revenue was being settled in the District Settlement Operations. The high allowances of 35 and 40 per cent. in Estate No. 1666 were necessary because at previous settlements the *hāoladārs* had been assessed at very low rates. At the last settlement their rents had been fixed at rates which allowed them to appropriate to themselves on an average more than 60 per cent. of the *raiya* assets of their properties and some of them retained 80 per cent., paying only 20 per cent., to Government. The conditions by which they secured so much unearned increment to themselves originated after the great cyclone in 1776 when the Collector, Mr. Cooke, in this and other estates in the district, very short-sightedly made permanent reductions in the tenants' rates of rent instead of allowing them remissions for a few years until the damage caused by the disaster should have been made good. The profits of the tenure-holders increased at later settlements in 1883 owing to the energy with which they combined to contest the assessment in the Civil Court, and in 1900 owing to the weakness of the authorities in giving way to them again. The present assessment has raised the revenue of this estate from Rs. 23,996 to Rs. 39,566, the major part of the enhancement being due to reduction of the middlemen's profits.

244. The Char Magdharā estate is in gradual process of development.

*Jamaibandi* of Char Magdharā. The cultivated lands on the Eastern side are not yet wholly free from the danger of salt water floods, and are open stretches of paddy land on which homesteads have not yet been erected. The rate of rent for *raiya*s was fixed at Rs. 3-2 per acre in place of Rs. 2-7, the former rate, and tenure-holders were given an allowance of 30 per cent. of their assets when they were resident on the estate and 25 per cent. when they were non-resident. They had never been treated with the same privilege as the middlemen in Estate No. 1666. The assessment on the cultivated portion was plain sailing, but there is a fringe of new formation along the East and South. This began to show signs of forming as an extensive *char* about 1910, and a "settlement" was made by the *Khās Mahāl* staff in Sandwip. Scandals of the kind are to be found in the history of the Government estates of other districts, but this is the worst of its kind in the recent history of Noakhali. The *Khās Mahāl Kānungo* made an imaginary map and divided it into rectangles to show plots which were stated to be fit for cultivation. These plots were leased out to tenants at rates commencing at 1 anna per *bigha* and increasing by progressive stages to Rs. 1 per *bigha*. There was a small fringe of land fit for cultivation adjoining the old paddy land, but the *Kānungo's* "map" extended more than a mile into what was water even at the lowest tide. Settlement was made of a row of plots fringing the old cultivation with the *Peshkar* of the Sub-Deputy Collector in charge at Sandwip. The *Khās Mahāl Kānungo* retired immediately after the settlement was made. There is a great demand for land in Sandwip owing to the diluvion on all sides but the East, and the tenants took the settlement as a speculation. They were disappointed, and at the time of the present settlement were clamorous to be given land in a new formation further South than the area which the "map" of the *khās mahāl* settlement purported to cover. Some of them were not *bonā fide* cultivators. As many of the others as possible were accommodated in the new *char* which was divided into plots and demarcated on the *killabandi* system.



245. The assessment of the revenue in the remaining estates in Sandwip followed the lines of that in Char Badu Lakshmi and Char Magdharā with variations corresponding to differences in existing rates and the varying circumstances of each case. The following table shows the nature of assessment in each estate :—

Estate No.	Name.	Raiyati rate per acre.	Allowance for tenure-holders.	REMARKS
		Rs. A.		
197	Char Siddhi ( <i>khās mahāl</i> )	4 11	35 per cent. and 40 per cent.	Under heavy diluvion. Not separated from private estate with which it is joint.
1667	Char Pirkaksha ( <i>khās mahāl</i> ).	3 12	30 per cent. ...	A very fertile but comparatively new formation. Rents under <i>hāladārs</i> usually as much as Rs. 5 per acre. Three small blocks of new land have been demarcated on the <i>killabandi</i> system and settled with tenants selected by Collector.
1665	Char Rahim ( <i>khās mahāl</i> )	3 2	20 per cent. and 25 per cent.	Government's share remains unseparated. Under heavy diluvion. Existing <i>raiya</i> rents were very low.
1574 1962 1963 1964	Thak Hudrakhal (temporarily-settled estate.)	3 2	No middlemen ...	Temporarily-settled <i>diāra</i> estate now partitioned into four parts at the wish of the proprietors. Proprietary allowance, 30 per cent.
1614		3 2	No middlemen under Government.	Government share separated. Several permanent tenures by promotion under the proprietor's share of the village were thrown into the block allotted to him. Existing <i>raiya</i> rates were very low. Enhancement justified on the ground of rates in surrounding villages.
1617		3 2	Ditto	Ditto.
1843		3 2	Ditto	<i>Diāra</i> estates in which Government's share has now been separated from proprietor's share. Existing rents low and there has been much new cultivation. Allowance to private proprietors, 30 per cent.
1961	Thak Santospur (private proprietors' share, temporarily settled).	2 12	No middlemen	
1844	Thak Gāchhuā ( <i>khās mahāl</i> )	2 12	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
1960	Thak Santospur (private proprietor's share, temporarily settled).			
1628	Char Kuchiāmorā ( <i>khās mahāl</i> ).	3 12	25 per cent. ..	Not separated from private estate. Almost entirely in the hands of a middleman. The <i>raiya</i> under the tenure-holder pay at comparatively high rates. He himself paid at Rs. 3-6 for a block settled with him during the currency of the last settlement.
1927	Thak Kuchiāmorā ( <i>khās mahāl</i> ).	3 7	25 ditto ...	Four tenures under each estate. No <i>raiya</i> direct under Government. Existing rate of rent maintained. Much extension of cultivation. Allowance to private proprietor, 30 per cent.
1959	Thak Santospur (private proprietor's share, temporarily settled).			
1613	Char Dhupi ( <i>khās mahāl</i> )	4 0	25 ditto ...	Not separated from private estate. A single tenure-holder over whole estate. Rate Rs. 4 used for valuation of tenure-holders' <i>khās</i> land. Contractual rents which <i>raiya</i> pay to him maintained; they are always above Rs. 4.

246. In all the Sandwip estates which were dealt with the number of objections under section 104-E which were filed was very large. In some estates almost every tenant filed one. Knowing what I did of the litigious character of the tenants, I was not at all surprised to find that this was the case. I was surprised on the contrary to find that appeals to the Director of Land Records under section 104-G were comparatively few.

247. With the concurrence of the Collector the *kists* in the *khās mahāl* estates were somewhat modified. A payment had been the rule in the month of June, but at that time of the year there are no crops to be taken from the land, and it is not a time at which to ask the tenants for a part of their annual rent. The *kists* for the currency of the new settlements are:—

August	...	...	...	...	4 annas.
November	...	...	...	...	6½ "
February	...	...	...	...	5½ "

In point of fact the *kists* are not adhered to. The *Khās Mahāl* Department never issues a certificate for realization under the Public Demands Recovery Act until after the close of the year and even then certificates are not very promptly issued. It is a matter of policy, but in a locality where the tenants are so well able to look after themselves it appears better to deal with them always in the most business-like manner possible.

248. In all the Sandwip estates dealt with, in which the proprietary right does not belong to Government, it was found necessary to give the proprietors the whole customary 30 per cent. allowance and not to deduct from it any allowance which had gone to tenure-holders, for the middlemen, who had been allowed to creep in had always done so when the estates were in Government's hands.

### The Bamni Group.

249. In this group the largest estate is No. 211 of the *Tauzi* Roll, the 10-anna odd share of Sandwip Pargana in Chakla Bāmni which was *daimi* settled in 1870 and came again into Government's hands at a revenue sale in 1898. There are other estates of Pargana Sandwip, accretions to Pargana Jugidiā resumed at the time of the *Diāra* Survey of 1881, accretions to Parganas Dandrā and Bābupur higher up the Little Feni river and to Amirābād on the seaface, resumed during the first half of the last century, accretions in the Big Feni river and a few island formations. The Minor Settlement Operations completed the reassessment of certain *diāra* estates in the Little Feni river, Nos. 1560, 1585, 1586 and 1772 of Pargana Jugidiā, No. 1581 of Sandwip and No. 1785 of Roshnābād; a share of Char Sāhābhikāri, bearing No. 1565 in Pargana Dandrā, but temporarily-settled while the other shares are permanently-settled; and the *khās mahāls*, Char Rāmnārāyan, No. 1599, Char Ghinādhopā, No. 1603, Char Fakirā, No. 1549. Kātā Mobārakgonā, Estate No. 1870, was included in the District Settlement of Chittagong and afterwards transferred to Noakhali. A fresh record-of-rights was made, but the estate was not ripe for reassessment.

250. The proprietary right in Estate No. 1581 belonged partly to Government and partly to the proprietors of Taraf Bhawāni Charan and I was able to effect a separation under Regulation VII of 1822, for the rent-roll had not been prepared when the Minor Settlement Operations passed into my charge. The temporarily-settled estate covering a share of Char Sāhābhikāri was similarly separated from the permanently-settled estates with which it was joint. The whole of this large village had been surveyed as part of Pargana Dandrā. There is no similar need for partition in any of the other estates dealt with in the Minor Settlement Operations in this group.

251. The big estate, No. 211, extends to some comparatively small blocks where it is joint with estates 14 and 16, Taraf Bhawāni Charan and Nilām Bhawāni Charan. There were besides two small blocks which it shared, one with Estate No. 17 and one with Estate No. 222, both permanently-settled estates. The last two small blocks were separated under the Regulations, but there were difficulties in separating No. 211 from Nos. 14 and 16. The proprietors of the latter had generally made the tenants tenure-holders by promotion for their share,

giving them the right to hold at a fixed rent in perpetuity. The rates in Estate No. 211 were very much lower than in the private estate. Government in its orders regarding the assessment on the tenure-holders in No. 211 treated them very leniently indeed, so much so that the private proprietor would have lost heavily by taking over the whole of any area to a share of which this assessment had been applied. It was seen, therefore, that a partition proceeding in which the private landlords would raise no objection was impossible, and it was decided that it was not worth while to delay the assessment of the whole of Estate No. 211 for the sake of the partition of this comparatively small joint-area. The Collector has filed an application under section 3 of the Estates Partition Act which he will dispose of on the basis of the record which has in the meantime been finally published.

252. Estate No. 1598 covering the 10-anna share of Bāhir Char had a history similar to that of the *char* villages in the Sandwip group. The estate was farmed with the proprietors of Taraf Bhawāni Charan who introduced two sets of tenants, one who had only had grazing settlements but refused to be ousted and the other cultivators promoted at once to be tenure-holders. They disputed over the land and most of it was attached by order of the Criminal Courts. To give Government a block in which these tenures could be avoided and the attachment removed, a partition was carried out under the Estates Partition Act, the intention being to make a fresh settlement with the same cultivators as *rāiyats* under Government. The partition took time owing to a dispute regarding the boundary between the village and Char Khandaker described at length in the report for confirmation of the rent-roll of Estate No. 1598, but was ultimately completed and the assessment carried through.

253. The following villages on the banks of the Little Feni river above Sāhābhikāri consist of accretions first reported in 1814 and formally resumed under Regulation II of 1819 in the year 1826 :—Char Hakdi, Char Huzuri, Char Madhuāi, Char Badarpur, and Char Goālgāon. At the same time the bed of an old stream called the Dādna Khāl running through 14 villages west of the river was resumed. Various *daimi* settlements of different undivided shares in these *chars* were made from time to time, and some of the estates after settlement have come into Government's hands at revenue sales. Generally, there are four distinct shares in each village. In the five villages there were three *khās mahāls*, estates Nos. 1762, 1763 and 1764 and five temporarily-settled estates Nos. 1561, 1562, 1563, 1564 and 1607, and the other shares were comprised in permanently-settled estates. On the joint-application of the proprietors a separation proceeding under Regulation VII was instituted and the lands of each estate separated from the rest. The old bed of the Dādna Khāl was covered to the extent of 12½ annas by a temporarily-settled estate, No. 1559, the remaining share having been permanently settled. Here also a partition was effected. In the case of these partitions as in the case of all others which were effected under Regulation VII of 1822, section 10 "ninthly," a statement of the allotment was drawn up in the form of partition-deed with an explanatory map in colours and formally registered.

254. A report containing proposals for assessment in estate No. 211 was forwarded to Government and orders passed by Government upon it. In new formations in the south of the villages Rāmpur and Musāpur the *thāk chaks* were carefully laid and the land falling to Estate No. 211 demarcated in squares on the *killabandi* system for settlement with tenants at a rate proposed to be Re 1-8 per acre. In the older part of the estate there are tenures proved to exist from the time of Mr. Rawlins' Survey of Sandwip Pargana in 1787-88. When Sandwip came into Government's hands a resettlement was made by Mr. Bruce, a Deputy Collector in 1836. In each of these *taluks* the area shown in Mr. Rawlins' papers was subtracted from the area found in measurement. To Mr. Rawlins' rent was added a fair assessment on the area which remained and thus the whole rent for each *tāluk* was ascertained. Settlement was concluded for thirty years from 1841,

The assessments made.  
Chakla Bānni.

and just as the period was expiring the *pargana* was *daimi* settled. Very little enhancement was attempted at the settlement of 1900 after the estate had come again into Government's hands, but much was done to clear up the confusion into which it had fallen. At the present settlement the proposals were to fix the rent of *raiya*s holding direct under Government at Rs. 5 per acre, the average existing rate in the whole estate being higher than that; to maintain higher contractual rates existing and to value the *khās* lands of tenure-holders at that rate; that the tenure dating back to 1788 should be treated as in 1836, and that, for the excess area in these tenures and for the whole area of others, assessment should be made upon the *raiya*ti assets giving the tenure-holders an allowance of 40 per cent. A few privileged *raiya*s were to be assessed at Rs. 3-2 per acre. Government modified these proposals in favour of the tenure-holders by allowing them 50 per cent. on the valuation of their *khās* lands and limiting the enhancement in every case to 50 per cent. The result is that, excluding the area occupied in 1788, the tenure-holders in the rest of the estate retain on an average 56 per cent. of the *raiya*ti assets for themselves and pay to Government only 44 per cent. In the case of a considerable number of them they retain more than 65 per cent. to themselves and a few retain more than 90 per cent. The total revenue has been increased from Rs. 10,221-13 to Rs. 17,876-3, but of the enhancement about Rs. 4,750 is due to extension of cultivation in new formations and only a little more than Rs. 2,000 is due to reduction of middlemen's profits.

255. The assessment of revenue upon the other estates dealt with in the Bānni Group is given in brief in the following table.

Estate No.	Name.	Raiya rate per acre.	Allowance for tenure-holders.	REMARKS.
		Rs. A.		
1559	East Babupur (temporarily-settled estate).	4 8	20 per cent.	Enhancement on tenure-holders limited to 50 per cent., 30 per cent. of <i>sthit</i> given to proprietors as allowance. One-fourth of the estate under tenures.
1561	Char Hakdi (temporarily-settled share).	4 0	20	30 per cent. of <i>sthit</i> given to the proprietor as allowance. Two-thirds of estate under tenures.
1763	Char Hakdi ( <i>khās mahāl</i> share).	4 0	30 " divisible with 2nd grade tenure-holders.	Two-thirds of estate under tenures.
1562	Char Huzuri (temporarily-settled share)	4 0	20 per cent. and 30 per cent. divisible with 2nd grade tenure-holders.	30 per cent. of <i>sthit</i> given to proprietors as allowance. Half estate under tenures.
1762	Char Huzuri ( <i>khās mahāl</i> share).	4 0	Ditto	Two-thirds of estate under tenures.
1563	Char Madhuai (temporarily-settled share).	4 0	20 per cent.	Enhancement of tenure-holders limited to 50 per cent. Thirty per cent. of <i>sthit</i> given to proprietors as allowance. One-third of estate under tenures.
1564	Char Badarpur (temporarily-settled share).	4 0	20 per cent. divisible with 2nd grade tenure-holders.	30 per cent. of <i>sthit</i> given to proprietors as allowance. Half of the estate under tenures.
1764	Char Badarpur ( <i>khās mahāl</i> share).	4 0	20 per cent.	Most of estate covered by tenures.
1607	Char Golaḡāon (temporarily-settled share).	4 8	20	Enhancement on tenure-holders limited to 50 per cent. Most of <i>raiya</i> s hold direct under the estate.
1656	Old Bānni police-station ( <i>khās mahāl</i> ).	3 0	.....	Small estate; no middlemen.
1301	Tāluk Sādatāli ( <i>khās mahāl</i> )	2 4	.....	Very small estate amalgamated with 211. No middlemen.
1302	In Musāpur ( <i>khās mahāl</i> )	2 4	.....	Very small estate amalgamated with 211. No middlemen.
1598	Bāhir Chāra ( <i>khās mahāl</i> )	1 8	.....	No middlemen.
1546	Rāmeswarpur Lāmohi (temporarily-settled estate).	4 11	25 per cent.	Proprietary allowance 80 per cent. of <i>raiya</i> ti assets. One-third of estate under tenures.

Estate No.	Name.	Raiyati rate per acre.	Allowance for tenure-holders.	REMARKS.
		Rs. A.		
1548	Char Bhutākhāli (temporarily-settled estate).	4 8	20 per cent. ...	Proprietary allowance, 30 per cent. when there are no middlemen and 40 per cent. divisible with them when there are; most of the estate under tenures.
1550	Char Gullākhāli (temporarily-settled estate).	4 8	20 „ ...	Proprietary allowance, 30 per cent. where there are no middlemen and 40 per cent. divisible with them when there are. One-third of the estate under tenures.
1928	Gullākhāli, Part II (now admitted to be temporarily settled, formerly claimed to be <i>khās mahāl</i> ).	4 8	10 „ ...	Proprietary allowance 30 per cent. of <i>sthit</i> . This is the estate mentioned in paragraph 242 above. Whole estate covered by a tenure.
1946	Char Allen ( <i>khās mahāl</i> ) ...	1 8	20 „ divisible with 2nd grade tenure-holders.	Settled as <i>lāikābād</i> (culturable but not cultivated).
1780	Char Hinguli ( <i>khās mahāl</i> )	4 8	20 per cent. ...	On Big Feni river, most of estate under a tenure.
1951	Feni River Block ( <i>khās mahāl</i> ).	2 9	50 „ ...	One-third of estate under a tenure. The block has newly come to Government by compromise with Raja of Tippera. The object in view was to consolidate rather than aim at high enhancement.

In this block most of the estates, whether *khās mahāls* or temporarily-settled estates, contain middlemen. The allowance for middlemen has not been taken out of the proprietary allowance when, as has usually been the case, the middlemen were put in while the properties were being held *khās* by Government.

### The Island Group near Noakhali.

256. This group is made up of Char Jabbar, Estate No. 1853, Char Jubilee, Estate No. 1770, and Char Bayley, Estate No. 1759 (Char Amanullā, Char Langaliā and Char Bāttā) and Char Lengtā. None of the three large estates first mentioned came under the District Settlement Operations for assessment of revenue, although a new map and record-of-rights was made for Char Jabbar because those prepared in 1905 when the first settlement of the *char* was made were found to be inaccurate and the tenants had not always taken possession according to them. At that time not only did many of the settlement staff get large blocks of land, sometimes 30 or 40 acres, as well as many *bhadralok* and shopkeepers in Noakhali town and almost all the Collectorate peons, but the area of the holdings of some of these people was written down much lower than the maps showed and the rents were calculated upon these figures. There was no proper demarcation at the time of settlement. Char Jubilee settled in 1910 was not touched. In it there was a satisfactory *killabandi* demarcation of the tenants' plots.

257. In Char Bayley the assessment was proceeding when the Minor Settlements came under my charge. The *zamindars* of Taraf Bhawāni Charan had obtained a decree in the High Court giving them possession of the Bhawāni Charan share in Char Bāttā, partly as reformation *in situ* of Char Siddhi according to Lieutenant Siddons' map of 1839, and partly as accretion to it, and of part of Char Langulia as reformation *in situ*, but the proprietor had failed to obtain a relay of the decretal line, a matter of great difficulty as the Civil Court Commissioner had made a connection with Sandwip island and most of his marks had been lost. Char Amanullā was not yet cultivated and the proprietor claimed the Bhawāni Charan share of it also. Siddons' map of Char Siddhi covered more than half of it and there was no doubt that the *char* had begun to form from within the line. Accordingly, the Collector did not contest the matter. Lieutenant Siddons' line was relaid by the Settlement Department in all three *chars*. A *diara* proceeding was drawn up and the Bhawāni Charan share outside the line resumed under Act IX of 1847 as *diara*. Finally, Government's share both inside and outside the line was separated from the private estates in each of the three *chars*. The assessment on Char Bāttā and Char Langulia was revised and a settlement on the basis of

a *killabandi* demarcation made in Char Amanullā except in the private proprietor's block inside Siddons' line.

258. Char Lengtā is a very recent formation. It was surveyed for the first time in the course of the District Settlement Operations and although not yet cultivated a considerable part of it was found to be fit for cultivation. Here also the *zamindars* of Taraf Bhawāni Charan claimed the Bhawāni Charan share. The *char* was found to lie almost entirely within Lieutenant Siddons' line of Char Siddhi and accordingly the Collector in this case also did not contest the claim. Lieutenant Siddons' line was relaid, again the Bhawāni Charan share outside it was resumed as *diara* and the area inside partitioned. The area outside was not partitioned as it was in two narrow strips which were only sand. In the area that fell to Government's share within the line a *killabandi* demarcation was carried out, tenants established and their rent fixed at Re. 1-8-0 per acre. This settlement was made for 5 years only as the *char* showed signs of improving very rapidly and there were no tenants having occupancy rights.

### The North Hātīā Group.

259. This group consists mainly of large Government estates which have not reached the same stage of development as, for instance, Char Badu Lakshmi in Sandwip. Some of the estates of the group were excluded from the District Settlement Operations as having recently been dealt with in the Minor Settlement Operations. These were Char Basu Estate No. 1783, Char Alexander No. 1686, Char Mehār No. 1627, Thāk Hāssan Hussein No. 1578, Char Gāzi No. 1671 and Char Gosāin No. 1637. Char Falcon Estate No. 1942 had been assessed in Bakarganj at the time of the District Settlement there and immediately afterwards transferred to Noakhali along with Char Jagabandhu, for which however no reassessment had been made. Char Falcon was excluded from the District Settlement Operations, but Char Jagabandhu included. The difficulty that Government's property and the temporarily-settled estate of private proprietors were joint with other estates which was so often met in the Eastern portion of the district was not repeated in this group. No partitions like those carried out in Sandwip were necessary in either of the Hātīā groups or in the North-Western group on the mainland.

260. It was not found necessary to forward proposals for assessment of a typical estate of the North Hātīā group to Government for orders as the conditions among them approximated very closely to those of the typical partially developed estate in Sandwip Char Magdharā regarding which Government had passed orders. The largest estate of the group is No. 1592 called in the Collectorate Char Behāri, although the name is not in use in the locality. The estate covers four large villages opposite the coast of the mainland at the Northern end of the island, Char Jāngālīā, Char Kādirā, Char Pāglā and Char Thikā. These are open stretches of paddy land almost unbroken by homesteads, and the total area is 9,104.67 acres, more than 14 sq. miles. The estate was under grazing settlements from 1866 till 1893, and in the first half of that time was being carved and remoulded continually by the action of the river. From 1893 for ten years it was let in farm to Yākubāli Chaudhuri and his brothers, proprietors of Pargana Gopālpur-Mirzānagar. During that time cultivators were established over most of it and the profit to the farmers must have been very great indeed. At the end of the period a settlement was completed under the Bengal Tenancy Act, but the record was destroyed by fire in March 1904 and the settlement had to be taken up afresh. It was completed in 1906. The farm was not renewed. The proceedings showed that the farmers had created a very large number of middle rights, in all 338; 232 of these were ignored, as the farmers had been given no right to create permanent middle rights, and many of them were proved to be altogether fictitious or to have been created by them by paper transactions just before the farm came to an end. How it came about that the Assistant Settlement Officer allowed



some of the others to remain is a matter for which no straight-forward explanation is forthcoming. The whole of one of the villages, Char Thikā which had not yet come under cultivation, was recorded in eight tenures in the names of persons very closely connected with the farmers and assessed at the rate of Re. 1-8 per acre. The present settlement found the *raiya*t*s* in this village paying at the rate of Rs. 4-12 per acre. In the other villages 14 tenures, covering about 500 acres in all, and belonging to one Karuna Chandra Dās, a pleader of the Noakhali Bar, were allowed to remain, and there were other similar instances. The rates for cultivated land which were settled in 1906 varied from Rs. 2-8 to Rs. 3-2. Generally, middlemen were assessed at the same rate per acre as the cultivators and left to make what they could out of their *raiya*t*s*.

261. At the present settlement the *raiya*t*i* rate was raised to Rs. 3-10 per acre on the ground of rise in prices, an enhancement from Rs. 2-8 to that figure being legally justifiable on that ground (section 32 of the Bengal Tenancy Act). Where contractual rents at higher rates were being paid to middlemen these were maintained. There could have been nothing gained by ordering them to be reduced, for these tenants had bound themselves by registered agreements and the middlemen could always have realized them through the Civil Court. The middlemen were given an allowance of 20 per cent. with a 5 per cent. allowance extra in the case of those who were residents of the estate such as had been given in Char Magdharā and Char Badu Lakshmi under Government's orders. The resultant enhancement of revenue over the whole estate was about 80 per cent. More than half of it came from extension of cultivation and reduction of middlemen's profits; progressive enhancements at the end of the first two periods of 5 years were given to mitigate the hardship in individual cases, and allow the tenants' domestic economy the opportunity of adjusting itself gradually to the higher rent demanded.

262. The manner of assessment on the other estates of the group which were dealt with is given in brief in the following table; none of them approach Estate No. 1592 in size :—

Estate No.	Description.	Raiya <i>t</i> i rate.	Allowance to tenure-holders.	REMARKS.
1590	Char Lawrence ( <i>khās mahāl</i> )	Rs. A. 3 2	.....	No middlemen.
1943	Char Jagabandhu ( <i>khās mahāl</i> ).	2 12	12½ per cent.	One-fourth of the estate is covered by tenures which were found by the Settlement Officer of Bakarganj to have been fraudulently created. A suit was filed to eject the holders which was ultimately compromised by the Collector of Noakhali in 1915. The tenure-holders deserve no leniency of treatment. New formations on the Western side were demarcated on the <i>killabandi</i> system and leased at Re. 1-9 per acre.
1641	Char Sekandar, <i>mudāfāt</i> Dulāgāzi ( <i>khās mahāl</i> ).	3 12	22½ per cent. and 20 per cent.	The whole estate is covered by two tenures now in the hands of pleaders of the Noakhali Bar. Rupees 3-12 is the contractual rent paid by <i>raiya</i> t <i>s</i> to them.
1577	Thak Sekandar (temporarily-settled estate).	3 12	18 per cent. ...	One-third of the estate is under tenures. Proprietary allowance 30 per cent. of <i>raiya</i> t <i>i</i> assets divisible with the tenure-holder.
1640	In Mauza Char Afzāl Fakirā ( <i>khās mahāl</i> ).	1 9	20 per cent. ...	A very small <i>chak</i> which is a reformation <i>in situ</i> of a resumed <i>lākherāj</i> . It was in the hands of Muazam Hussein of Na'chira with whom it has been settled as tenure-holder to save Government a civil suit.
1579	Thak Algi (temporarily-settled estate).	3 12	.....	No middleman. Proprietary allowance, 30 per cent.
1569	Diāra Char 'Afzāl Fakirā (temporarily-settled estate).	3 2 1 9 for <i>lāikābad</i> .	20 per cent. ...	Proprietary allowance 30 per cent. of <i>sthit</i> .

263. The last estate came up for settlement in 1912. The Assistant Settlement Officer making the mistake, which used to be so common in the Noakhali Collectorate, of failing to discriminate *khās mahāls* from temporarily-settled private estates thought this estate was a *khās mahāl*. He surveyed part of it which was being held *khās* by Government and omitted the rest which was being held by one of the proprietors, Muāzzam Hussein of Nalchira, as part of the parent estate, reporting the "Government had been dispossessed". The true nature of the estate was discovered at the time of the District Settlement, an assessment placed on the portion omitted and settlement of the whole offered to the proprietors for 15 years. Muāzzam Hussein accepted it.

264. Chār Alexander was dealt with in the Noakhali Petty Settlements and the rent roll drawn up after the operations Petty settlements in North Hātiā. came under my control. The rate Rs. 3 per acre is lower than I should have proposed had I had at that time the experience and knowledge of the rates in the locality which I have since acquired. Char Mehār was originally settled in nine *abadkari* tenures each of which was formerly placed under a separate *tauzi* number on the Revenue Roll. But Government is the proprietor of the whole *char* and the estates have been amalgamated into one. One *abad* has been diluviated and the remaining eight have come into the hands of the same persons, who, however, objected to their amalgamation and they therefore remain separate. During the period of settlement of the *diāra* estate No. 1583 in Char Niāmat, which belongs to and is held by the *zamindars* of Dakshin Sāhabāzpur, there were large accretions, parts of which were also claimed as reformation *in situ* of estate No. 15 belonging to Bhulūā. The Collector, quite wrongly for Government has no proprietary right whatsoever in Chār Niāmat, through the agency of the *Khās Mahāl* Department, made a settlement of the accretions with *rāiyats* as part of the *diāra* estate. During the District Settlement Operations the proprietors of estate No. 15 asked under Part V of the Survey Act for a relay of the boundary of their estate in the accretions according to Captain Hodges' map of 1834. This relay was made, and as the tenants put in by the *Khās Mahāl* Department in this area had not established their possession, the record-of-rights followed the relay, and the area which was reformation *in situ* of estate No. 15 was included in it. The Collector's mistaken action in this case also arose from the confusion between a *khās mahāl* and a temporarily-settled private estate. If the proprietor of estate No. 15 had had to go to the Civil Court to obtain his reformations Government would undoubtedly have been mulcted for a large share of the costs, and the proprietor of estate No. 15 would have had a good case for claiming damages for the Collector's interference.

### The South Hatia Group.

265. This group consists in the main of *khās mahāls* which originally formed as islands south of Hātiā and were taken Estates of South Hātiā Group. possession of by Government as soon as they formed. Harni where the *thana* head-quarters and Munsifi now stand was on the Southern shore of the island in 1819. South of it Nalchira and Sukh Char were the first to form as islands. South of them other islands formed and gradually the channels dividing themselves silted up so that there was a large tract of land south of the Nalchira Donā, the channel dividing Nalchira from Hātiā, before it silted up in its turn leaving only a narrow *khāl*. In its old bed there are, on the Northern side, a series of *diāra* estate accretions to the old Hātiā and, on the Southern side, a long *khās mahāl*, Char Bhārat Sen. It seems certain that jungle grew dense on all the *chars* that formed south of Nalchira Donā before they were brought under cultivation. Jāhājmārā, Chengār Char and Burir Char are still covered in jungle. There is still much jungle uncleared in Char Tamaruddin and a little in Char Iswar Ray and Char King.

266. In this group several large estates were not touched in the District Settlement Operations. The settlement of the large Char Iswar Ray, Part I, Estate No. 1675, was concluded in 1910. Although it was not ripe for resettlement it was, like Char Jabbar, to be resurveyed if it was thought necessary. But as the record has not a bad reputation and there are no new formations, the task was not undertaken. The Minor Settlements had recently dealt with Char King, Estate No. 1647, Char 'Bhārat Sēn, No. 1673, and Char Amanullā No. 1677. Char Lance, Estate No. 1636, was surveyed, but resettlement of land revenue was not made as the current settlement lasts till 1923. The settlement of Chengār Char, Estate No. 1778, was concluded in 1912 and lasts till 1927. It was surveyed, as the settlement had not been made under the Tenancy Act, and indeed there had been no real survey and no demarcation of the tenants' holdings. Char Sen had just been settled by the Collector in the same manner although in it he had demarcated the holdings. Sukh Char forms a *dāimi*-settled estate. Char Lakshmidia, No. 1649, and Jāhāj-mara, No. 1935, are not yet fit for occupation. Apart from these estates, revision of land revenue was undertaken for the rest of South Hātīā island South of the Nalchira Donā and for the *dāra* estates on its Northern side.

267. The two Nalchirā estates, Nos. 1672 and 1674, are of the same age and in the same stage of development as Char Badu Lakshmi in Sandwip. A record-of-rights was prepared for them by Mr. Nandaji, Deputy Collector, immediately after the passing of the Tenancy Act, and rents were settled for 30 years. The record was a good one. Fair rents for *rāiyats* were assessed at the rate of Rs. 3-12 per acre, a rate which the Settlement Officer found already in existence, having been established by the middlemen in whose hands the estate was. In that settlement some *hāolādārs* were treated as *rāiyats*, but assessed at Rs. 2-4 per acre only, the rest, treated as tenure-holders, were given an allowance of 46 per cent. of their assets as profits and collection expenses. *Nim-hāolādārs* were given an allowance of 28½ per cent. of their assets. The whole of each estate is under a *tāluk*, the history of the origin of which is given in the reports for confirmation of the Rent Roll. At the last settlement the owners of these two tenures which now belong to one man, Muāzzam Hussein of Nalchira, the most influential man in Hātīā, were given an allowance of 30 per cent. of their collections. It will be seen, therefore, that in Nalchira, it was a very large proportion of the rent paid by the cultivators that was absorbed by middlemen before the revenue found its way into the Treasury. Muāzzam Hussein claimed a proprietary right, but that claim was very quickly disposed of. The *rāiyatī* rent was raised from Rs. 3-12 to Rs. 4-11 per acre, one anna lower than the rate in Char Badu Lakshmi. There was ample justification for this enhancement on the ground of rise in prices during the 30 years of the previous settlement. All the *hāolādārs* claimed to be tenure-holders and were so recorded. The *hāolādārs* in Chār Badu Lakshmi were given allowances of 35 per cent. if non-resident and 40 per cent. if resident. The Nalchira *hāolādārs* had not in the past been treated with quite the same leniency as in Char Badu Lakshmi and the *tāluk-dār* had always absorbed a large percentage. The allowance for middlemen in Nalchira was settled at 25 per cent. for non-residents and 30 per cent. for residents. As almost all were resident 30 per cent. was the allowance almost throughout the estate. *Nim-hāolādārs* shared the allowance of the *hāolādārs*. Considering the manner in which the *tāluk*s originated, there seemed every reason for reducing Muāzzam Hussein's allowance very considerably, but he is a landlord who lives on his property, almost all of which is within the *khās mahāls*, and manages it himself, an admirable thing in a country of absentee landlords, and his allowance had already been reduced considerably in Char Amānullā at the hands of the Minor Settlement. He himself owns a number of *hāolās*, which did not merge, and has therefore no expense in collecting the *hāolā* rent for them. After much consideration and a modification of the Assistant Settlement Officer's original proposals, he was given an allowance of 25 per cent. of his collections, where immediately under him were *hāolās* not owned by himself, and 17 per cent. when the *hāolās* immediately under the *tāluk* were his own. Progressive enhancements were given on the usual

scale. The revenue in the two estates was more than doubled and two-thirds of the enhancement came from reduction of middlemen's profits, but still the Government revenue is only about 54 per cent. of the whole *rai-yati* assets.

268. The largest estate in the group both as regards area and revenue,

Char Tamaruddin.

Char Tamaruddin, is one of very different character. The first settlement has only just expired and some of the estate has not yet been cleared. When the Collector took up the colonization and settlement by his *Khās Mahāl* staff the whole *char* was buried in jungle. No demarcation of the tenants' holdings, no survey of any sort was thought necessary as a basis of settlement. A topographical map on the scale of 4" to the mile which had been prepared some years previously was taken, enlarged to the 16" scale by means of a pentagraph, and the sheets divided into squares to show the relative position of holdings. Numbers were placed in the squares and written agreements taken from the tenants on the basis of the settlement "map and record" thus prepared. The "map" showed not a single point which had been demarcated on the ground. The only means of recognizing the locality from it at all was by means of the winding streams which passed across it, and the rapidity with which such streams alter their courses in a new formation of low soft mud rendered them a very unsatisfactory guide. Moreover, not all the sheets of the map fitted together correctly. The total area of the *char* was 13,818 acres, nearly 23 sq. miles. It is impossible to condemn too severely such a travesty of the *killabardi* system, but it satisfied the Collector and pleased the inferior *khās māhal* staff who saw a splendid opportunity of profit when individual tenants should put in petitions to have their lands pointed out to them. The estate was only saved from complete chaos by the energy of the Sub-Deputy Collector in charge, Babu Debendra Nath Guha, who went down to the *char* with the first settlers taking his wife with him and lived on it for a time as an example to them, trying as best he could to identify their lands to them. Even so, the clearings made by the tenants were often irregular in shape and the holdings occupied not by any means the exact size for which rent was being paid. The selection of settlers must have been a matter of great difficulty. Many bad characters who had made their own villages too hot to hold them were given land, and many who had already sufficient stock settlements as a speculation. Later on, many who were not of the cultivating class including pleaders at the *Hātā Munsifi* purchased holdings. Naturally, the holdings which were sold were those which the tenants had not cleared or in which they had not been able to get possession of the full area for which rent was being paid. It seemed probable that the tenants would be plunged into litigation, but the Collector, Mr. Adie, in 1915 decided to mark the "map" a "confidential plan," and refused to give certified copies of it. When the *char* was surveyed by the District Settlement staff, actual possession was always followed. Just lately, the Commissioner has held in an appeal to him against an order refusing to give a copy of the original "map" that a copy must be given. The fat is now in the fire. Many holdings have passed into the hands of money-lenders and other non-cultivators. One has already sued in the Civil Court for possession of his holding according to the original "map". Others will do the same and nothing can now prevent the estate from being plunged into a sea of litigation. Decrees on the basis of contradictory relays of that wretched "map" cannot but follow, and many cultivators who have no capital at their back must be ruined. It is a melancholy prospect. The only hope that the danger may be averted is that tenants may be able to prove that claims on the basis of the original settlement map are barred by limitation. The rents were originally settled at progressive rates at one *anna* a *bigha* only for the first two years, two *annas* for the third, four for the fourth, six for the fifth and so on until the full rate, Re. 1-1 per *bigha* or Rs. 3-3 per acre, was reached in the tenth year. The tenants were tempted by the initial low rates, and did not realize till the time came to pay it that the full rent would be so heavy. There was a good deal of discontent among them, especially among those whose lands were *dogi* lands as they called them, i.e. lands which did not drain properly, because other tenants had been allowed to put pairs of embankments close together on several of the streams as a cheap way of making

tanks. Mr. Prance, the Collector, who took a great deal of interest in this estate, had these embankments removed. He was consulted as to the terms of the new assessment. The *raiya* rate was fixed at Rs. 3-2 per acre, a reduction of one anna per acre being made from the rate which had been held for the last six years of the previous settlement. This reduction was made to satisfy the tenants that Government had no intention of overburdening them. It was decided not to make any permanent reduction in the rent of the *dogi* lands, but to leave the Collector to grant remission to the owners for the disability as it appeared to be a temporary one only. The assessment resulted in a reduction of the total revenue of the estate from Rs. 37,905 to Rs. 36,119. The holdings on the Southern part of the estate, called Māizcharā, and in Chengār Char, Estate No. 1778, which had not been cleared, were demarcated with the theodolite and the squares defined by iron pillars placed at intervals. The Collector, learning by the experience of Char Tamaruddīn, had made a similar demarcation in Burir Char, the colonization of which was taken up about the time District Settlement Operations began. After some correspondence it was decided that in other cases where land was ready for colonization the Settlement Department should do the work, taking from the Collector a list of tenants whom the *Khās Mahāl* authorities considered suitable.

269. The manner in which the assessment of the remaining estates of the group dealt with was concluded will be gathered from the following table:—

Estate No.	Description.	Raiya rate.		Allowance to tenure-holders.	REMARKS.
		Rs.	A.		
1576	Diara Nilakhi (temporarily-settled estate).	3	2	20	Proprietary allowance 30 per cent. of the <i>raiya</i> assets where the <i>raiya</i> hold directly under the estates, 40 per cent. divisible with the tenure-holders where there are tenures.
1582	Diara Muklud Shola-anna (temporarily-settled estate).	3	2	20	Ditto ditto. This estate is the one mentioned in paragraph 243 above for which the rent roll prepared in the Minor Settlement Operations had to be cancelled.
1676	Char Iswar Ray, Part II ( <i>khās mahāl</i> ).	3	2	20 and 25 per cent. for residents.	

### The North-Western Group.

270. Lakshmipur stands upon a *khās mahāl*. It was the *mahāl* attached to the old factory there and occupied mainly by the servants attached to the factory and by the Company's weavers. The estate, which goes by the name of the Bānchānagar Mahāl bears the Tauzi No. 1587. Adjoining it to the West is another *khās mahāl*, Bālāmmārā, bearing Tauzi No. 1553. It is a very extensive estate formed by accretions in the Meghna which began to appear before the beginning of last century. It is held by the Dālāl Bazār Bābus as tenure-holders on terms which are unique in Eastern Bengal. The estate is liable to resurvey every ten years, but the rate at which the *tālukdārs* shall be assessed is unalterably 9 annas and odd per bigha or Re. 1-12-6 per acre for the land under cultivation only. The *tālukdārs*, therefore, hold at a comparatively low fixed rate, can get remission of revenue for diluvion or for land passing out of cultivation, are liable to pay at no higher than the same low rate for reformatations and have always been assessed at the same rate for accretions. The property is now exceedingly valuable and the realizations of these *tālukdārs* several times the revenue they pay. Both these estates were dealt with in the Noakhali Minor Settlement Operations. Two other estates, both small ones, were dealt

with in the same operations and excluded from the District Settlement Operations, namely, Tum Char, Estate No. 1554, and Char Palwān, Estate No. 1552. These two are accretions in the bed of the Dākāitīā river North of Rāipurā. Three other *khās mahāls*, very small purchased estates, bearing Nos. 1555, 1556 and 1557, lately settled in the Minor Operations, were resurveyed.

271. The remaining estates in the group were assessed in the District Operations. The manner in which the Meghna river has shifted its course since the Ganges and Brahmaputra joined forces has been described in paragraph 27 above. As it has receded it has left large accretions to Pargana Shāestānagar, the big *khās mahāl* estate, Char Bangshi, and certain smaller *diara* estates behind it and in the channel by which the Dākāitīā river formed an outlet through the new *chars* into the big river.

272. The largest estate of the group is Char Bangshi bearing *Tauzi* No. 1658. It covers six villages and part of a seventh and though it has suffered diluvion is still nearly 10 sq. miles in extent. Though it is a comparatively new formation it has developed very quickly. From 1878 when it was first settled till 1906, it was let in farm to the Dālāl Bāzār Bābus. These powerful landlords leased it to tenants at rates which Government would not at that time have thought of adopting—rates so high that none in the locality but the Dālāl Bāzār Bābus would have been able to realize them. Their profit during the two periods of the farm was very high indeed. They served their own interest not only by concluding settlements at those rates and by enhancing the rent of tenants whose rent had been fixed by Government against the terms of the lease, but by establishing tenures in the estate either in the names of their servants or under fictitious names, but really for themselves. At the last settlement it was found that very divergent *raiṇyati* rates existed. The old tenants in a few cases still paid at Rs. 2-8 per acre, while the other tenants paid at rates sometimes going as high as Rs. 15 per acre. The rate at which the settlements had been made varied with the extent to which the farmers, who were also the largest money-lenders in the locality, had the tenants under their thumbs. At this settlement, 1906, the old *raiṇyats* were assessed at Rs. 3-10-9 per acre and the rates of rent of others ranging from Rs. 4-6-6 to Rs. 9 were maintained, while rates higher than Rs. 9 were reduced to Rs. 9. A few *hāolādārs* who were descendants of the first settlers were assessed at Rs. 3 per acre; otherwise, the tenure-holders were assessed in the same manner as the *raiṇyats*. The farm was ordered not to be renewed, but the Dālāl Bāzār Bābus' tenures were allowed to remain, and it is said others were allowed to be created. Whether it is true or not the conduct of the Assistant Settlement Officer seemed doubtful at the time, but nothing could be proved against him. The fact remains that the Dālāl Bāzār Bābus retain tenures covering a large area in the estate. Between 1906 and the present settlement, they fortified their position by similarly creating *benāmi* 2nd grade tenures and even *raiṇyati* holdings under themselves. All these have now found place in the settlement record, but the object of the tenure-holders in creating them has been defeated to a large extent by making the allowance of the 1st grade tenures divisible with those of lower grades. After the record had been attested, no further attempt was made to hide the real ownership of these. The Dālāl Bāzār Bābus' agents appeared on behalf of those whose names had been recorded in the case of every one.

At the present settlement the rate, Rs. 3-10-9, of the last Rent Kōm was raised to Rs. 4-12 per acre. The enhancement was legally justified on the ground of rise of prices. Those *raiṇyats* whose rates ranged from Rs. 4-6-6 to Rs. 5 were raised to Rs. 5 per acre and the existing rents at higher rates were maintained without change. The development of the estate has been so rapid that the land is now as valuable as that of the *khās mahāl* estate in Chakla Bānni in which by Government's orders a *raiṇyati* rate of Rs. 5 was adopted. The old *hāolādārs* who had previously been assessed at Rs. 3 were given an allowance of 25 per cent., the other tenure-holders including the Dālāl Bāzār Bābus 18 per cent. The enhancement over the whole estate was



about 25 per cent., of which 10 per cent. was due to the enhancement of the *raiya* rates, 2 per cent. to extension of cultivation and 13 per cent. to reduction of middlemen's profits. Off the Northern end of the Char Bangshi Mahāl there is an island not yet fit for cultivation but of considerable extent. The question whether it was included in Tippera or Noakhali arose a few years ago, but it should undoubtedly be treated as part of Noakhali and has been recorded within Estate No. 1658. The Collector of Noakhali should not lose sight of it. It will be fit for *raiya* settlement very shortly.

273. The manner of assessment on the other estates in the group will be gathered from the following table :—

Other estates.

Estate No.	Description.	Raiya rate.	Allowance to tenure-holders.	Remarks.
1855	Char Mirzāmārā ( <i>khās mahāl</i> ).	Rs. A. 4 8	18 per cent. ...	The estate had a curious origin, of which an account is given in the report for confirmation of the Rent Roll. One-fourth of the estate is under tenures belonging usually to the Dālāl Bazar Bāhus.
1658	Char Mohārā (temporarily-settled estate).	4 11	20 per cent. ...	The estate belongs to Pargana Bhulua, but is almost entirely covered by tenures belonging to the proprietors of Shāestānagar. Proprietary allowance 35 per cent. of <i>raiya</i> assets divisible with tenure-holders.
1570	Debipur (temporarily-settled estate).	4 11	No middlemen...	Allowance to proprietors 30 per cent.
1771	Char Abābil (temporarily-settled estate).	4 8	20 per cent. ...	Allowance of proprietors 30 per cent. of the <i>raiya</i> assets where there are no middlemen and 40 per cent. divisible with them where they are. The latter is given because the tenures existed before the <i>diara</i> estate was resumed, and up to the present the proprietors have been given an allowance of 30 per cent. of the rent due to them.
1779	Char Udmārā (temporarily-settled estate).	4 8	10 per cent. and 20 per cent. in the case of one tenure dating from before the resumption of the estate.	Proprietary allowance 30 per cent. of <i>raiya</i> assets. Proprietors have not taken settlement

274. The boundary between the last estate and the parent estate was determined on the basis of the Revenue Survey by a civil suit after the *Diara* Survey. The case map cannot now be relaid and part of the map of the last settlement is missing from the Noakhali Collectorate. The boundary was first fixed in the present operation according to the map of the settlement before last prepared shortly after the decree. The proprietors complained that the boundary as relaid included land which was by the Revenue Survey map within their *zamindārā*. This was before the Revenue Survey comparative map for the purpose of *diara* resumptions had been prepared by the professional Survey Party. Not wishing to assess again any land covered by the Revenue Survey I ordered a relay of the Revenue Survey line from the comparative map when it should be available. When the latter came, it was seen that instead of gaining by such a relay the proprietors stood to lose and the order to relay the Revenue Survey line was cancelled. The proprietors apparently did not believe that the comparative map was correct. They appealed to the Commissioner against the cancellation of the order to relay, and he ordered the Revenue Survey line to be relaid from a certain pillar. Now a relay from a single point is unscientific, and the point chosen was in the middle of a wide river at the time of the Revenue Survey. However, it was ascertained on enquiry that the pillar was one put down at the time of the *Diara* Survey to mark an imaginary midstream line shown in the Revenue Survey map, and it had been

correctly placed. The relay made from this point with the help of the North line shown on the Revenue Survey sheets almost exactly agreed with the relay according to the comparative map. A supplementary Bent Roll was prepared to cover the area added to the estate by accepting this as the boundary and the revenue due from the proprietors if they accepted settlement was thus by their own action increased by some Rs. 350. They have not, however, taken settlement. The estate is held *khās*, and it will be interesting to know what further action, if any, they will take.

275. There remain two estates, portions of the Noakhali-Lakshmipur Road and the Chandraganj-Lakshmipur Road, which were abandoned in favour of a more direct alignment. These bear the *Tauzi* Nos. 1726 and 1953. The lands of these were assessed at Rs. 3 and Rs. 3-12 per acre respectively.

### **Diara Survey.**

276. There was desultory resumption of accretions during the first half of the nineteenth century, but the Revenue Survey came late and the only regular *diara* survey since the passing of Act IX of 1847 has been that of Babu Parbati Charan Ray in 1880-82. At that survey comparatively little was found ripe for assessment. Rivers within the district are few and possession of the most part of the new formations in the Meghna estuary had been taken by the Collector as island formations. On the *diara* survey of 1880-82 resumptions were made in the following localities :—

- (1) Along the Eastern side of Sandwip.
- (2) In the bed of the Nalchira Don which formerly cut off Nalchira and other adjoining villages from the rest of Hātīā.
- (3) In Parganas Sandwip and Jugidiā on the little Feni river.
- (4) In two small blocks on the Big Feni river.
- (5) In Parganas Shāestānagar and Bhulūā in the North-West corner of the district.

A 4" map of the seaface, islands and banks of the Big and Little Feni and the Dākāitiā rivers for some few miles inland was prepared and compared with the Revenue Survey maps. Maps on the scale of 8" to a mile were prepared for the areas resumed, but the *Diara* Superintendent paid little attention to their assessment, leaving it entirely to the Collector.

277. The present *Diara* Operations were initiated upon the issue of Notification No. 8580-L.R., dated the 30th August 1913, and extended to all the internal rivers of Noakhali and the Noakhali banks of the boundary rivers. No resumption is necessary on the Chittagong bank of the Feni river, for the area on the Chittagong side is included not under permanently-settled estates but under Noābād *taluks*. The Western side of the Meghna river and the Shāhābāzpur channel were brought within the *Diara* Operations of Bākarganj, and there is no river between Noakhali and Tippera. As the mainland of Noakhali stands at most points further back than at the time of the Revenue Survey, or the *Diara* Survey, nothing was found along the face of the mainland which had not already been assessed. As in 1880 few formations among the islands were found of which possession had not been taken by the Collector as island formations. Resumption proceedings, therefore, were not many. A complete list of the proceedings drawn up, the areas resumed, the estates formed and the revenue assessed is given in Appendix XVI to this Report.

278. The resumptions in Chars Amānullā, Langaliā and Bāttā, formerly called Char Bayley, as well as those in Char Longtā, have already been described in paragraphs 257 and 258 of this Report. Small blocks were found resumable in the bed of the channel formerly separating Char Pir Baksha from the main island of Sandwip, and one small block on the Big Feni river which is generally cutting away the Noakhali bank and forming land on the Chittagong side. On the Little Feni river were found two small blocks belonging to Sandwip Pargana,

one large one in Char Chāndiā and three small ones belonging to Jugidiā. In North Hātiā one large block belonging to estate No. 15 of Bhuluā in Char Sitā, Porāgāchhā, Kalākopā and Char Bedamā and another belonging to Pargana. Dakshin Shāhabazpur in Char Abdullā. Elsewhere all new formations were either accretions to *khās mahāl* and temporarily-settled private estates or new island formations.

279. Char Kalākopā and its neighbours formed as islands and the proprietors of Bhuluā took possession of them as reformatations of part of Estate No. 15. They grew on all sides and it was found that most of the large block formed was without the Revenue Survey line. The *zamindars*, however, claimed to be paying revenue for as much as was covered by Captain Hodges' map which showed a large *mauza* named Manāpir in this locality in 1834-36. Immediately after that survey, Estate No. 15 having gained much since the Permanent Settlement, the proprietors accepted an enhancement of revenue which was consolidated with that previously existing. Their claim on the basis of Hodges' map appeared, therefore, to be just, and it was proposed, while releasing the area within Captain Hodges' line, to resume only the existing area found outside it. No data of Hodges' survey are extant, but it was found possible to relay his map with accuracy by means of village trijunctions and salient features in the village boundaries which were common to his maps and the Revenue Survey maps in the Middle and East of North Hātiā island. A satisfactory relay was obtained in this manner, the proceeding was not contested by the *zamindar* and was confirmed by the Board of Revenue.

280. At the time of the last *Diara* Survey several blocks of land accretions to Jugidiā had been resumed as being outside the Revenue Survey line, and resumption proceedings were instituted for further areas since formed. The bulk of the area was in one block in Char Chāndiā. One piece of it was found to have been released on appeal before the Commissioner of Dacca (who controlled the *Diara* Survey in Chittagong Division also) on the basis of Rennell's map. The release was mistaken, for the accretion had been formed to a part of Jugidiā which was only settled in perpetuity in 1857, but necessarily held good. Another portion of the block had been the subject of dispute between the proprietors and the Collector as representing the proprietor of the *khās mahāls*, and by compromise the Jugidiā proprietors had been allowed to obtain possession of it. This, however, did not render it free from the liability to assessment, although this was one of the grounds upon which the proprietors contested the proceeding. Another contention of theirs was that as they had owned fishing rights in the Little Feni river along with their *zamindari* they held the proprietary right in the bed of the river. This contention does not hold. In my Court they did not much press a third point but have done so before the Board of Revenue, that their *zamindari* should be held to be bounded according to Captain Hodges' survey. Captain Hodges did not survey their *pargana* but only Sandwip Pargana on the other side of the river, although he showed the bank on their side at this point. The permanent settlement of the estate took place in 1857, more than 20 years after Hodges' survey and only 6 years before the Revenue Survey. At the last *Diara* Survey though there were several resumptions this claim was not put forward by the *zamindars* as at most of the points where those resumptions were made the estate at the Revenue Survey extended much further than at Captain Hodges' time. The resumption has been confirmed by the Board of Revenue.

281. Char Abdullā in the Western side of North Hātiā is in possession of the proprietors of Dakshin Shāhabāzpur Pargana of Bakarganj. There was a survey of their *pargana*, although it was not finally accepted to be a Revenue Survey, made at the instance of Government by one Kelso in 1849. The whole *char* lies outside the Revenue Survey map of the *pargana*, but it is crossed by the boundary line according to Kelso's map. A proceeding was drawn up for resumption of the area outside Kelso's line. The proprietors contested its resumability, stating that the whole *char* is covered by Rennell's map based on surveys 1763-77. The rulings of the Privy Council before the

last case of this nature, Hara Das Acharjya Chaudhuri *versus* Secretary of State, reported in XXVI C. L. J., page 590 *et seq.*, were to the effect that Rennell's map is not good evidence of the boundary of an estate as permanently settled in 1793. In that case the evidence was fortified by certain *chauhaddibandi* papers of 1799 from which their Lordships were able to conclude that the proprietors owned in 1799 a compact block through which the river passed as it does at the present time, although probably not in its present course. The *zamindars* of Dakshin Shāhabāzpur produced copies of *tāhut milāni*\* papers of 1802 showing the names of villages which do not appear in Kelso's map, and claimed that they were diluviated between 1802 and 1849 on the East side of the *pargana*. There was, however, no possibility of discovering, as from the *chauhaddibandi* papers produced before the Privy Council, how the villages fitted together. They might have been on any side of the *pargana*, or in the interior and since absorbed in others. Moreover, evidence was at hand which so seriously discounted the value of these *tāhut milāni* papers that they offered no support to the evidence of Rennell's map. Captain Hodges' map of Hātiā and the sketch map attached to Walter's† report, moreover, pinned down the progress of the Shāhabāzpur river Westward between Rennell's time and 1849 at this point to the period immediately following Rennell's survey, and showed that the locality of the area proposed to be resumed was much nearer the Hātiā shore than the Shāhabāzpur shore in 1819. Rennell's map of the islands, drawn as it was from the Marine Surveys of Ritchie,‡ is far more unsatisfactory for purposes of relaying than in the interior of the province. It was held that the *zamindar* had not by any means proved that the land of Char Abdullā was part of the *zamindari* in 1793 and the area was found liable to assessment. The final orders of the Board of Revenue have not been passed on this proceeding, but it is the only one still pending.

282. The total area covered by the resumption proceedings submitted to the Board of Revenue is 11,359 acres and the assessment of revenue amounts to, Rs. 16,973.

Summary of results.

The cost of the *Diara* Operations amounted only to Rs. 1,005, a very low figure compared with the costs involved in the resumption of a similar area in other districts, accounted for in the main by the fact that it included large blocks and few small ones. The "new map" prepared under Act IX of 1847 is the 16" sheets of the cadastral survey. Index maps as prescribed by the Director of Land Records have been prepared and will be made over to the Collector. The original comparative maps showing the Revenue Survey village boundaries upon the lines of the present survey reduced to a scale of 4" to the mile for the whole seaface and islands and the lower reaches of the interior rivers of the district, although not forming an essential part of the records of the *Diara* Proceedings and therefore not authoritative, have also been bound and made over to the Collector. In a district like Noakhali where fluvial action is so violent and continuous and distances from land to land so great, these maps should prove very useful to him in his administration.

283. Before closing this chapter, I would leave the Collector of Noakhali a piece of advice. His *khās mahāl* tenants are all sea lawyers. In the past if any of his records have

A piece of advice.

not been to the liking of one of them—if a piece of land in possession of another tenant has been included in the latter's assessment while he considers himself entitled to it—his usual practice has been to file a suit against Government. In innumerable instances in the past the Collector has entered upon the defence of the tenant recorded in his papers, and spent a great deal to gain nothing, for Government gets the rent for the land whichever party obtains possession. No doubt, after the completion of the present resettlement of rents in the *khās mahāls*, there will be another crop of such suits and Government will be made a party. When this is the case, the Collector should enter an appearance, point out to the Court his position of neutrality, remind the Court that section 104-H of the Tenancy Act debars it

\* Vide *supra*, paragraph 164.

† Vide *supra*, paragraph 24.

‡ Vide *supra*, paragraph 16. Rennell (Memoirs of Hindustan, 1788, p. 37) says that Ritchie's coast survey from Balasore to Chittagong was out by 2½ miles when compared with Rennell's distance by inland survey.

from interfering with the assessment, and demand that it shall award him costs for his expenses in putting in an appearance. If the Court will, as it should, require the plaintiff whether he wins or loses the case to pay Government's costs, the nuisance of the many civil suits against Government in Noakhali may be diminished.

It is worth while mentioning also the fact that in the district of Noakhali there is no custom which makes *raiya* holdings transferable without the landlord's consent. A corollary is that *khās mahāl* tenants cannot transfer their holdings without the Collector's consent.

### CHAPTER III.

#### Case-work and the Result of Cess Revaluation.

284. Although case-work is not yet half completed, enough has been done to indicate the lines upon which it is proceeding. Applications under section 105 of the Tenancy Act for settlement of fair rents, and suits under section 106 for the decision of disputes regarding entries in the record were filed in the following numbers :—

Thana.	Cases filed.	UNDER SECTION 105.		Under section 106.
		Applications.	Tenancies involved.	
Feni	...	2,891	3,094	93
Begamganj	...	3,464	5,075	121
Companyganj	...	1,388	1,511	10
Sandwip	...	916	1,132	15
Noakhali	...	2,089	2,465	73
Lakshmipur	...	2,200	2,350	20
Ramganj	...	900	1,600	30
North Hātiā }	...	134	139	...
South Hātiā }	...			
Total	...	13,982	17,366	362

The time of limitation during which applications and plaints may be filed has not yet expired for a few villages in Ramganj, Lakshmipur and the Hātiā thanas. The figures that are shown in the above table against those thanas are the actual numbers already filed with an estimate of those likely still to be filed in the remaining few villages.

That the number of plaints filed under section 106 is so low is an advertisement for the accuracy of the record, but another reason for it is the fact that the Court-fee payable on such plaints is comparatively high, and, following the policy of putting off till to-morrow all that need not be done to-day, the party adversely affected by an entry in the record prefers to wait and contest the accuracy of the record should the point come up in Court at a future time. A large majority of the applications filed under section 105 were made, each respecting a single tenancy. There were very few filed in which a large number of tenancies were joined in one application. More applications would probably have been filed had the statutory limitation been longer than two months. It is only a very small proportion of the tenancies in the district of which the rent is exactionable that have been made the subject of such applications.

Disposal.

285. The following figures refer to applications disposed of up to the end of February 1919 :—

Thana.	DISPOSED OF		TENANCIES.						
	Applications.	Tenancies.	Applications withdrawn or dismissed without trial.	Existing rent settled full.	Compromised.	Decreed after contest.	Decreed <i>ex parte</i> .	Dismissed after trial.	Now rent settled where none formerly paid.
									Rs.
Feni	2,236	2,347	557	43	73	1,029	201	176	268
Begamganj	1,161	2,217	1,582	114	55	417	2	19	28
Sandwip	166	166	145	...	21	...	...	...	...
Noakhali	2,075	2,391	1,257	210	79	707	76	31	31

In these four *thanas* where the work is proceeding the suits still not disposed of are mainly those which will be decreed after contest. Few more are likely to be withdrawn, but the number of such withdrawals is remarkably high. There were two main reasons for them. There were many cases in which the tenant had not during attestation claimed that his rent should be recorded as fixed in perpetuity on the presumption of section 50(2) of the Tenancy Act, but when the application came up for disposal the landlord discovered he had unearthed *dākhilās* for 20 years and intended to raise the issue during the disposal of the application. In such cases the landlords withdrew the application leaving themselves the opportunity of filing at some future time a suit for enhancement in the Civil Court, where, according to section 115 of the Act, the presumption will no longer arise. In a certain number of cases the landlords had raised issues under section 105(a) in making their applications. After these were filed the Government of India ruled that the Court-fee of 8 annas must be supplemented in such cases to make it commensurable with the Court-fee which would have been required had the issue been raised in a plaint filed under section 106. Some landlords did not consider it worth while to file the additional Court-fee, and the suits were either withdrawn or dismissed without trial. It is characteristic of the tenants of Noakhali that they allowed a very small number of cases to be compromised or decreed *ex parte*.

286. The following table gives an indication of the profit which the landlords are making from the disposal of the applications :—

Results.

Statistics of Rent in Cases in which a Fair Rent has been Settled.

Thana.	Number of tenancies.	TENURE-HOLDERS.		Number of tenancies.	RAIYATS.	
		Old rent.	New rent.		Old rent.	New rent.
		Rs.	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.
Feni ... ..	460	7,996	10,004	1,111	6,981	11,132
Begamganj ... ..	159	2,727	3,300	343	5,273	6,717
Sandwip ... ..	21	61	77	...	...	...
Noakhali ... ..	461	17,554	18,407	424	4,557	5,946

The enhancement of the rents of tenures has usually been given under section 52 for increase of area only, the rate of rent being fixed. The enhancement in the case of *raiyats* has been given both for increase of area and by increase of the rate of rent on the ground of rise in prices. In the latter case the Assistant Settlement Officer has ordinarily looked to the average rate prevailing in the village and locality, having been supplied with statistics prepared from the record. The enhancement has usually been from 2 to 4 annas in the rupee. Landlords have invariably been unable to prove that the rentals are anything but lump rentals. The figures for new rent in the above table include rents settled for holdings for which no rent was previously paid. These were always found to be small, but there were as many as 268 in Feni.

287. The method employed in Revaluation of Road Cess which was made upon the basis of the record-of-rights during the progress of the later stages after draft publication and the disposal of objections has already been briefly described in paragraphs 227, 229 and 230 above, and the rules framed for it are to be found printed in Appendix VII to this Report. Revaluation was made for all the estates for which a record-of-rights was prepared, as well as for the estates of Pargana Dandrā surveyed and settled under Notification No. 1679-T.—R., of 23rd October 1915. The revaluation of other estates and of Estate No. 14 of the *Tauzi* Roll, part of which was excluded as having been surveyed along with Pargana Niz Sandwip, was undertaken by the Collector, although a calculation was made for the part of Estate No. 14 which came under the District Settlement Operations and the file made over



to the Collector for completion. The calculation was completed, the rolls draft published, objections disposed of and the valuation became final in respect of 1,292 estates and portions of estates having separate accounts in the Collectorate, in time for the new cess to become payable from the Bengali year 1325 (1918-19). The cess became payable in the remaining estates from 1326 B. S. (1919-20). The total number of estates and portions of estates having separate accounts for which revaluation was made was 2,700. The number of tenures valued was 93,895. The financial result is as follows :—

Old valuation.			Old cess.		New valuation.			New cess.		
Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
35,59,081	11	10	1,98,583	5	38,05,634	2	11	2,11,829	4	8

Includes Rs. 2,36,499-10-2, the valuation of lands of Noakhali estates outside the limits of the district.

The cess payable has been increased rather more than 6½ per cent.

288. The work done is not, however, to be measured by this result. The incidence of the new valuation. incidence of the cess payable compared with that paid on the last revaluation shows very diverse changes. In the case of small estates the new cess has more often than not become less than it was before, but on the other hand the cess in the case of big estates has almost invariably increased. The reason for this is that in the returns filed at the last revaluation for small estates there were not as many omissions as there were in the case of large estates. Some small estates and all the small tenures were on the last occasion summarily valued at three times the rent they paid. More often than not the valuation obtained in this way was larger than that now obtained by a summation of the rent payable by the under-tenant cultivators. The expenditure on the new valuation is justified more by the fair adjustment of the tax on big estates and on small and on all tenures at the correct rate than by the increased yield of the tax. A number of rent-free tenancies formerly paid cess direct to the Collector. At the present revaluation all but those which are revenue-free estates entered in the Collector's Register B-I have been valued as part of the revenue-paying estate to which they properly belong.

289. The total cost of the revaluation, including expenditure on forms, stationery and other contingencies and a proportion of the pay of the officers engaged on the supervision of the various stages in addition to their employment in other branches of the work of the Settlement Department, amounts to Rs. 33,199, approximately Rs. 27 per sq. mile. The last revaluation cost Rs. 97,338, almost exactly three times as much.

## CHAPTER IV.

### Expenditure and Apportionment of Costs.

290. Though a final adjustment of the cost of the settlement of Noakhali cannot be made until the whole operation covering both Tippera and Noakhali is finished, the work in Tippera is approaching completion and a very close approximation to the total expenditure can be made. The cost of all the stages of the preparation of the record based on actual expenditure incurred in Noakhali is known. The expenditure on supervision, supplies and services, and contingencies, now that the whole operation is drawing to a close, can be closely estimated on the basis of actual expenditure up to the end of March 1919 and the small probable expenditure in the future, and apportioned between Noakhali and Tippera on the basis of

Expenditure on each stage of the work compared with estimates and standard rates.

the area dealt with in each. The cost of the revision of land revenue which has been completed is a known quantity. The cost of case-work can be estimated on the basis of actual expenditure up to the present, and an estimate for the future deduced from the time which the officers at present engaged on the work are likely to take before it is finished. The expenditure on each stage of the preparation of the record, revision of land revenue, case-work, supervision, etc., and the rate of expenditure compared with the rates of the original estimates and the standard rate\* are as follows :—

	Gross expenditure.	Rate per sq. mile.	Rate of original estimate.	Standard rate.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Traverse ...	72,353	62	63	65
Cadastral Survey ...	1,30,010	112	110	115
Khanapuri ...	49,842	43	37	39
Preliminary Office Work ...	20,054	17	18	18
<i>Bujhārat</i> ...	1,02,436	88	86	94
Attestation ...	61,949	53	66	66
Objections ...	20,034	17	27	27
Final Office Work— Janch ...	36,282	31	20	20
Statistics ...	8,590	7	10	10
Final Maps ...	5,560	5	6	6
Topo. Maps ...	2,448	2	2	2
Final Record ...	63,479	55	54	54
Computation and Recovery ...	19,168	17	20	29
Revision of Land Revenue ...	12,676	66	50	...
<i>Diara</i> Resumption ...	1,005	56†	...	...
Case-work ...	14,335	16‡	16	16
Supervision ...	1,37,539	118	161§	179
Supplies, Services and Contingencies.	1,74,898	150	92§	97
Reproduction of Maps, including Director of Surveys' Control.	23,379	20	25	25
Director of Land Records' Control.	11,877	10	15	15

\* Area deals with, 191 sq. miles.

† Area resumed, 16 sq. miles.

‡ The areas 191 and 16 sq. miles mentioned in the above two notes are excluded in estimating this rate.

§ Rate deduced from figures of original estimates.

Excluding the cost of the revision of land revenue, the gross expenditure amounts to Rs. 95,433 and the rate is, therefore, Rs. 821 per sq. mile. The original estimates provided for a gross expenditure of Rs. 26,51,000 (exclusive of Rs. 16,750 for revision of land revenue) on an area of 3,200 sq. miles. The rate according to the estimates was, therefore, Rs. 828 per mile. The standard rate is Rs. 877 per sq. mile.

\* The standard rate referred to in this chapter is that given in letter No. 329 addressed by the Revenue Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Government of India on 15th January 1915, without any adjustment for increased numbers of plots and interests per sq. mile.

It is to be noted that the expenditure quoted above includes the cost of making outline maps of certain uncultivated islands and villages and parts of villages excluded from the Settlement Operations, the areas of none of which have been taken into account in estimating the rate of expenditure. Neither has the area of any but the smallest streams shown in the village maps been included.

Items in which estimates were exceeded.

291. The rate of the original estimates has been exceeded in the following items :—

			Rs.
Cadastral survey ...	...	... by	2 per sq. mile.
<i>Khānapuri</i> ...	...	... "	6 "
<i>Bujhārat</i> ...	...	... "	2 "
<i>Janch</i> ...	...	... "	11 "
Final Record ...	...	... "	1 "
Revision of Land Revenue ...	...	... "	16 "
Contingencies ...	...	... "	58 "

Both the standard rate and the original estimates were based on the expectation of finding 1,000 plots and 250 interests per sq. mile. In Noakhali there were over 1,500 plots and 440 interests per sq. mile. This alone is very much more than enough to account for the slight increase in the cost of cadastral survey, *khānapuri*, *bujhārat* and printing. In fact, if the standard rate is adjusted for the increased number of plots on the system given in the Government of Bengal's letter No. 329, dated the 11th January 1915, for the preparation of the final records, the standard rate rises to as much as Rs. 92 per sq. mile. In this item, however, the standard rate is undoubtedly very wrong and the comparison of little value. The fact remains, however, that the working of the press has been as cheap as could possibly have been expected, and would have been cheaper had more presses which require only the same cost in supervision been working at the same time, as in Dacca and Faridpur. The reason for the increased expenditure in *janch* was the policy, mentioned in paragraph 228 above, of employing Revenue Officers and *Kānungos* in *janch* camps and thus finding good work for them to do in the recess, a time when other Settlement Officers have found it difficult to give them useful employment and their pay has been debited to supervision. Revision of land revenue cost more than was estimated on account of the partition proceedings\* which it was necessary to carry out to separate Government estates from the property of private proprietors.

Contingent expenditure.

292. The increase under the head of Supplies, Services and Contingencies is accounted for as follows :—

(a) In the original estimates Rs. 76,000 was set apart for buildings. On the buildings erected by the Public Works Department Rs. 97,850 was spent. Very high rates were paid for piece-work. As much as Rs. 39 per 100 cubic feet was paid for brickwork in parts of the buildings, although there was a brickfield adjoining. Such a rate is more than would be paid for the same work in the heart of Calcutta. The buildings originally erected provided no room for the printing presses, and a further sum of Rs. 12,302 had to be spent on press sheds and a store-room.

(b) The original estimate was prepared for an area of 3,200 square miles to be dealt with in Tippera and Noakhali. The diluvion which had taken place in Noakhali was much underestimated. The area actually dealt with was only 3,010 sq. miles.

(c) No provision was made, in drawing up the estimates for binding the five public copies of the record and maps, or for binding certain copies sold for which the cost was credited in receipts.

(d) Owing to the war the price of many articles, especially paper for printing the final record, and the paper used in the great quantity of forms which a settlement requires, rose very high, and, although every attempt was made to economise in the use of paper, forms and stationery, the effect could not but be felt considerably. The rise in prices in many articles besides

\* Vide *supra*, Part III, Chapter II.

paper consumed in the Settlement Operations rose also, materials for binding, type, ink, pens, cloth for covering the volumes of the handwritten record, etc.

(e) The presentation to landlords as well as tenants of copies of *khatiāns* before *bujhārat* and of co-sharer landlords with duplicate copies of their tenants' final *khatiāns* increased cost of forms and press paper.

In any case the original estimate was at too low a rate for an area in Eastern Bengal, where transport and labour are so expensive. The estimate worked out at Rs. 92 per sq. mile under this head, and the standard rate is Rs. 112, but in the Dacca Settlement which hardly felt the effect of the war at all Rs. 130 per sq. mile was spent, and in Faridpur no less than Rs. 198.

293. Savings were effected against the rates of the original estimates under the following heads :—

			Rs.		
Traverse	...	...	...	by 1	per square mile.
Preliminary Office Work	...	...	...	" 1	" "
Attestation	...	...	...	" 13	" "
Objections	...	...	...	" 10	" "
Statistics	...	...	...	" 3	" "
Final Maps	...	...	...	" 1	" "
Computation and Recovery	...	...	...	" 4	" "
Case-work	...	...	...	" 1	" "
Supervision	...	...	...	" 43	" "
Director of Land Records' Control	...	...	...	" 5	" "
Reproduction of Maps	...	...	...	" 5	" "

The savings are the more remarkable when the large number of plots and *khatiāns* per sq. mile is remembered. The saving in preliminary office work, the cost of which depends directly on the number of plots, in spite of the additional copies of *khatiāns* prepared for landlords, was due to the arrangement by which  *khasra* section work was done in the *Kānungos'* camps. The saving in attestation was partly due to good *bujhārat* and partly to the fact that so many Revenue Officers, who were not also Assistant Settlement Officers, and drew less pay, were employed. In objections it was due to the fact that a large proportion of the officers employed to decide them were Sub-Deputy Collectors. They drew lower pay than Deputy Collectors would have done, and, being usually promoted Settlement *Kānungos*, thoroughly experienced in settlement work, were better able to deal with the cases expeditiously. The saving in statistics was obtained by use of economical methods. The cost of reproduction of maps was kept down in the office of the Director of Surveys by the invention of Mr. Delaney, which has obviated the necessity for graining the Vandyke plates by a mechanical process, and by the use of a cheaper paper for all the 16" maps except those required for administrative purposes in place of the Bankpost paper which could not have been obtained in sufficient quantity. There has been considerable saving by reducing the number of copies of each village map after a direct and careful estimate of the exact number required for distribution by the system, first introduced in Midnapur Settlement and afterwards incorporated in the Director of Land Records' Technical Rules, in which an alphabetical list of those who are to receive copies is made in order to ensure that the same man with an interest in more than one tenancy in the same village shall not get two copies of the map free.

294. The standard rate for supervision is Rs. 178 per sq. mile. This has been reduced by one-third. Some Rs. 10 per sq. mile is the pay of *Kānungos* employed in *janch* which would otherwise have been debited to supervision. Something is due to the fact that Indian Civil Service Charge Officers were only available during two out of four field seasons and their places were taken by Deputy Magistrates, but the bulk of the saving is due to the speeding up of the settlement in its later years. A hundred sq. miles of the attestation of the third block was done ahead of the programme and in the fourth block attestation was commenced as soon as *bujhārat* had been finished. The number of presses set up was two more than would have been necessary to carry through the printing of the record according to the original programme. The result is that the final record for both Tippera and Noakhali will be finished by September next (September

1919) 12 months ahead of the original programme, and, as this Final Report is completed and the work on that for Tippera well in hand, I shall be able to leave the dregs of the Settlement in the hands of the Deputy Collector now employed as Head-Quarters Assistant Settlement Officer about the same time, a full two years earlier than the limit of the original estimates provided for my retention. Though the progress of this Settlement has been satisfactory, no generalization should be made from this that a Settlement Operation can progress well enough without what used to be considered the correct complement of Charge Officers of the Indian Civil Service, and was provided for in the estimate for this operation. Without them the Settlement Officer has more than one man's work to do. In my own case I was fortunate in being posted in a healthy area, in having an experienced staff of *Kānungos* and Revenue Officers and still more fortunate in having had in Dacca, Faridpur and Rajshahi experience of settlement work in all its stages before the commencement of this operation.

295. The total amount of the receipts of the Settlement of the districts has been estimated, as in the case of the expenditure on supervision, etc., on the basis of actual receipts up till the end of March 1919 and probable future receipts. The amount under each head, apportioned rateably according to the area dealt with in each district, gives the following figures for Noakhali :—

	Rs.
Court-fee stamps ... ..	86,328
Sale of records ... ..	16,087
Sale of maps ... ..	97
Disposal of survey instruments, tents, etc. ... ..	26,945
To be realized for the value of settlement buildings when made over to Collector ... ..	29,117
Total ... ..	<u>1,58,574</u>

The receipt in stamps is at the rate of Rs. 74 per sq. mile. In framing the estimates these receipts were anticipated to be only Rs. 50 per sq. mile.

296. The gross expenditure on the Settlement Operations in Noakhali, including cost of revision of Land Revenue, but excluding the cost of Cess Revaluation, amounts to Rs. 9,68,914. The net expenditure, therefore, amounts to Rs. 8,09,340 which is Rs. 697 per sq. mile, against Rs. 729 according to the original estimates and Rs. 777 according to the standard rate.

297. Proposals for the apportionment of costs upon landlords and tenants were forwarded on the 6th December 1916 when the record had been draft published, objections disposed of and *janch* completed for 706 sq. miles of Noakhali. *Bujhārat* had been completed for the remaining area and attestation was going on. As the Government of India takes responsibility for no part of the costs of preparing a fresh record for the area of which a record-of-rights exists, the landlords and tenants and the local Government, where revision of Land Revenue is being made, were to be held responsible for something more than three-quarters of the net costs. Following the instructions given in the letter bearing No. 1345-T.—R., addressed by the Secretary to the Government of Bengal in the Revenue Department to the Director of Land Records on 28th October 1914, it was assumed that the existence of a previous record when such existed would have so facilitated the preparation of a new one as to reduce the cost by one-quarter. An estimate of the net costs was made and, when the amount debitable to the Government of India had been deducted after a calculation on these lines, it appeared that the amount to be recovered from landlords and tenants and paid by the Local Government was Rs. 6,95,460. This was in addition to the actual cost of resettlement of Land Revenue on the basis of the draft record where this was done. In the case of settlement of Dandrā Pargana, the Petty Settlement which came under my supervision as soon as the District Settlement Operations commenced, a

novel form of apportionment was applied. Road-cess Revaluation was being carried out and costs were apportioned to be realized from landlords and tenants at a multiple of the cess paid by each man on the new valuation from his own pocket, i.e., a multiple of the cess he paid less the total he realized from his tenants. A proposal on the same lines was put forward for the apportionment of the costs of the District Settlement. The current cess on the old valuation, allowing for an increase commensurable with that which had already been found in the revaluation of Dandrā Pargana, indicated that the multiple should be 3. It was estimated that three times the new cess increased by the application of the usual minimum charges would yield Rs. 6,90,000. The proposal was sanctioned by Government with a modification of the multiple, making it 4 in the case of landlords and 2 in the case of occupiers. This modification was to be expected somewhat to reduce the total amount that would be recovered, but the Director of Land Records considered that in the original proposal the effect of the prescription of minimum charges had been somewhat under-estimated. A copy of Government's apportionment order passed under section 114 of the Bengal Tenancy Act has been printed in Appendix VI (c) to this Report.

298. Progress in the recovery of costs was excellent. My only previous experience of it in a District Settlement had been in the first block surveyed in Faridpur. Recovery of costs. The contrast between the progress here and there came to me as a surprise, for on all sides the landlords were complaining that owing to the fall in the price of the jute they had never before experienced so much trouble in realizing their rents. There the record had been five years in the making before recovery commenced. Here in each block it began less than a year after objections had been disposed of and less than three years after cadastral survey. The novelty of the printed records and maps in the district was much appreciated. The contrast with the progress of recovery in Pargana Dandrā, made a year before recovery for the District Settlement began, was as striking as that with the progress in Faridpur. The Dandrā record had been 4½ years in the making and was only hand-written. There were not half so many certificates issued in the first 200 sq. miles in which recovery for the District Settlement was made as in the 34 sq. miles of Dandrā. In the Faridpur recovery camps there was the continual complaint of the tenants about printing mistakes. There was not this in Noakhali. The thorough check imposed after the records left the press reduced the number of printing mistakes as low as we can hope to reduce it. The tenants, moreover, appreciated the simplicity of the apportionment order. Even the poorest cultivator knew what it meant when he heard he had to pay twice the cess due from him. This is one of the advantages of the mode of apportionment adopted. It had the further advantage that it saved a double calculation for cess and computation of costs. The calculation of cess is, however, so complicated a business that this mode is not one to be adopted when the Settlement Officer has not been ordered to complete Cess Revaluation.

299. The computation of the costs payable by private landlords and occupiers according to the apportionment order gave the following result :—

				Rs.
Demand from landlords	...	...	...	3,16,820
Demand from occupiers	...	...	...	2,32,489
		Total	...	5,49,309 <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> One village Bāhir Chara in Thana Companyganj where a partition was pending is not included. The record will shortly be finally published.

In addition to this the Local Government has to pay costs as a private proprietor where in *khās mahāl* revision of land revenue has not been made, and the whole costs of both landlords and occupiers for the temporarily-settled area when such revision has been made.

By the middle of March 1919, Rs. 4,84,920 had been recovered in Noakhali, Rs. 4,51,048 voluntarily and Rs. 33,872 under the Public Demands



Recovery Act. Rs. 26,739 was outstanding from certain big landlords who had been allowed to make payments direct to the *Sadar* Office and in some cases allowed to pay by instalments. Rs. 12,926 was covered by "certificates" which had been issued but not yet satisfied, and Rs. 8,420 had been remitted, being partly in very small demands for which it was not worth while to issue certificates and partly for plots diluviated on the seaface before final publication. Rs. 16,304 was the demand in certain few villages where recovery work was still going on.

. 300. One of the advantages claimed for the cess method of apportionment when its adoption was proposed was that, like the method of apportionment upon landlords on the basis of profit adopted in Faridpur and Dacca, it lightened the burden of costs in the case of those who paid a high proportion of their assets in rent and revenue. Most of the temporarily-settled area surveyed was made the subject of proceedings for the settlement of Land Revenue and when such is the case the whole costs become debitable to the Local Government. The revenue being a high proportion of the *raiya* assets, the total cess due is a somewhat smaller fraction of them than in the permanently-settled area. The fact that the rents are on the whole somewhat lower further reduced the incidence of cess per acre on these estates. The apportionment of costs at three times the cess throughout the district would, therefore, have reduced the incidence of the demand per acre on the temporarily-settled area somewhat below the demand in the permanently-settled area. This would have been justifiable on the ground that the temporarily-settled area was usually open country, much easier for survey than the land covered by the Permanent Settlement, and the tenure system was always simpler and, therefore, offered less difficulty in the preparation of the record. The modification of the multiple 3 by Government's orders making it 4 for landlords and 2 for occupiers upset the equilibrium of the adjustment. When the revenue of an estate is but a fraction of the total rent paid by cultivators the modification is only to be expected slightly to reduce the total demand. When, however, the revenue is a high proportion of it, the modification necessarily reduces the demand considerably. When the revenue is 20 per cent. of the total rent of cultivators, the cess is  $(100 - \frac{1}{2} \text{ of } 20)$  annas per cent. of it, and it is paid 50 annas by occupiers and  $(50 - \frac{1}{2} \text{ of } 20)$  annas by landlords. Three times the total cess is 270 annas per cent. of it. Twice the cess paid by occupiers *plus* four times that paid by landlords amounts to 260 annas per cent. of it. The modification of the multiple has only produced a slight reduction. The case is different when the revenue is, for example, 80 per cent. of the total rent of cultivators. Then the total cess is  $(100 - \frac{1}{2} \text{ of } 80)$  annas per cent. of it and is paid 50 annas by occupiers and  $(50 - \frac{1}{2} \text{ of } 80)$  annas by landlords. Three times the total cess is 180 annas per cent., but twice the cess paid by occupiers *plus* four times the cess paid by landlords amounts to only 140 annas per cent. The modification of the multiple has reduced the demand by almost a quarter.

Such being the position, it appears that to apply the method of the apportionment order to ascertain the demand to be made against the Local Government for the area for which revision of Land Revenue has been made will be to relieve it of some of its fair share of the cost and throw them upon the State.

In making the final adjustment of the cost of the Settlement Operations for Tippera and Noakhali, a direct apportionment of the actual expenditure on the record of that area in Noakhali should take the place of a calculation based on the apportionment order. The immediate cost of revision of land revenue, Rs. 12,676, and of *Diara* resumption work, Rs. 1,005, is also payable by the Local Government. The cost of Cess Revaluation which has not been included in the figures mentioned in this chapter, Rs. 33,199, is payable by the District Board. The remainder of the expenditure is to be met by the State.

## PART IV.

## Conclusion.

301. Emphasis has been laid in several places in this Report on the fact that the Noakhali cultivator is very well able to look after himself. Among the landlords there are very few who are able to overawe their tenants in the manner which is the rule rather than the exception in so many parts of the Province. The main object for which the Tenancy Act was drawn up was to put the *raiya*s in a position to defend themselves against the oppression of their landlords, and this object it has in some measure achieved. In Noakhali, where even in 1885 such a measure cannot have been so much a necessity as elsewhere, it has completely succeeded. In general, it is the landlord in Noakhali who is now in difficulties rather than the tenant. Small *ābwāb*s are paid in Noakhali, but they are small. No force is used in levying them, they are not in any way a burden on the tenants, and are paid more as if they were "tips" than exactions. The landlord on the other hand has, in the past two decades at least, suffered from being unable to obtain an enhancement of the rent of his tenants such as the Tenancy Act allows. A remedy for this has been put into his hands to be applied in cases in which he had not yet adopted the alternative expedient of his own invention, of taking a premium and promoting his *raiya*s to be middlemen. After the record-of-rights has been framed, section 105 of the Tenancy Act supplies an expeditious and inexpensive means by which a landlord can have a fair rent settled for his *raiya*s. The landlord cannot always command public sympathy in his difficulty of enhancing the rents of his tenants, for what he gains is an unearned increment, but he has another trouble in which he cannot but have most people on his side. It has become increasingly difficult for him to realize the rent which is legally due to him. The difficulty is not a new one in these parts, for as long ago as 1819 Mr. Walters reported it and suggested the remedy that the procedure of the *Patni* Regulation should be applied to all the *tāluka*s in Sandwip Pargana. That the difficulty is very great, although the rents have long been stationary and with the rise in price of agricultural produce the ability of the tenants to pay has much improved, is shown by the number of rent suits which are filed.

302. The number of rent suits filed each year of this century in Noakhali are compared in the table below with the number filed in Dacca, a district with which comparison has frequently been made on other points in this Report :—

Rent suits.		Noakhali.	Dacca.			Noakhali.	Dacca.
1900	...	13,085	6,743	1910	...	14,457	8,072
1901	...	11,330	5,622	1911	...	13,563	9,044
1902	...	12,192	6,641	1912	...	12,442	8,049
1903	...	12,340	6,305	1913	...	12,585	9,403
1904	...	11,829	6,771	1914	...	12,103	7,863
1905	...	12,028	7,616	1915	...	13,630	9,372
1907	...	12,576	7,002	1916	...	13,630	11,358
1908	...	12,631	7,402	1917	...	17,737	12,579
1909	...	12,436	7,440				

The area of Dacca is 2,832 sq. miles, that of Noakhali 1,535 sq. miles. There are, it is true, large estates in Dacca under the Court of Wards where rents are realized under the Public Demands Recovery Act, but on the other hand in Noakhali there are very wide *khās mahāls* in which the same procedure is in use and a multitude of small properties to which the *Patni* Sales law is applied. There are on an average between three and four times as many rent suits per sq. mile filed in Noakhali than in Dacca. The contrast between Noakhali and Mymensingh is still more striking. During the first ten years of the century the average number of rent suits instituted in Noakhali was distinctly higher than the average in Mymensingh which

has an area of 6,300 sq. miles, and the number per sq. mile 5 times greater in Noakhali.

303. In Noakhali a rent suit is very seldom filed until three years' rent is due and the claim is about to be barred by limitation. In 1918, 17,565 rent suits were filed in almost every case for three years' rent of a holding. If this is the average figure it means that every year the rent of something over 50,000 tenancies falls in arrears and has ultimately to be realized through the Civil Court. The number of "interests" in the settlement record is not the number of tenancies in the district, for a tenancy appearing in two villages makes two "interests". Moreover, besides the application of the Public Demands Recovery Act in *khās mahāls*, the *Patni* Sales Laws are more often employed for realization of the rent of tenures in Noakhali than elsewhere. The number of tenancies, the rent of which may be expected to be realized by suit if it falls in arrears in the district, may be estimated rather under three lakhs.

A number of rent suits are, however, filed by co-sharer landlords for fractional shares of the rent. Coparcenary is not a marked feature of the tenure system in Noakhali as in Dacca and Faridpur. The coparcenary of landlords who would be expected to sue separately for their share of the rent would perhaps raise this three lakhs to six lakhs. Roughly, therefore, in Noakhali one rent in twelve has to be realized through the Civil Court. In Dacca as I am able to judge from my own experience there as Assistant Settlement Officer and from the remarks of the Settlement Officer in his Final Report coparcenary requires the number of tenancies to be increased by a much higher multiple to give the number of rents ordinarily realizable through the Civil Court. Holdings are smaller there and rent suits filed more frequently as test cases against one of a group of tenants to induce others to pay. They are, therefore, less often delayed until three years' rent is due. If one rent in twelve in Noakhali is realized through the Civil Court, I do not think it is more than one in 150 that is so realized in Dacca.

304. The Civil Court does not give the landlord a ready and acceptable means of realizing his dues and he does not resort to it until the last moment. The difficulty is not that the landlord cannot prove what the rent is, for he usually holds a registered agreement between himself and the tenant by which he can at once prove it. But the tenant puts forward every device he knows to gain time. He knows perfectly well all the tricks to be played when a summons is to be served against him, understands exactly what is meant by non-joinder of parties and how to make the most of it when one of his co-sharers dies and his heirs have to be substituted as defendants, and fully appreciates that the interest which the Court will decree on the arrear is only a fraction of what he would have to pay to a money-lender if he borrowed or would be able to realize as a money-lender if he lent the amount to someone else. It is the Civil Court procedure that, to a layman in such matters, appears to fail. When the landlords are able to realize almost all their dues directly, when it is only exceptional cases that come to Court as in other parts, the procedure may be well enough. In a locality where the success of one suit has no effect as an example to other defaulters, where the landlords are driven to have recourse to the Civil Courts wholesale, the procedure proves too expensive and too dilatory and an alternative is needed. Such conditions as obtain in Noakhali were not, I think, contemplated when rent suits were taken out of the hands of Revenue Officers and their disposal made part of the duty of the Civil Courts. The existence of the record-of-rights will not be of much assistance in the matter, for as has already been said, the difficulty has not been that the correct rent due cannot be proved. When at the beginning of the last century the realization of Government revenue was a matter of great difficulty, it was the Summary Sale procedure that brought a change. It cost some of the landlords their estates, but the realization of revenue soon became as automatic as it is to-day. In the middle of the last century the realization of rent in Government estates in Eastern Bengal was a matter of great difficulty. Now *khās mahāl* rents are paid in Noakhali very much more regularly than in private estates, for the tenant

knows that non-payment will call forth the summary Certificate Procedure. Neither in 1790 nor in the middle of last century, nor under the private landlord in Noakhali, now, it is a fact that the dues cannot be paid. It is part of the character of the people to avoid payment of what is due so long as it is not effectively enforced and a matter of shame to no man that his debts go unpaid. If such an experiment\* is to be tried as that contemplated when Chapter XIII A was added to the Bengal Tenancy Act in 1907 before the decision that maintenance of the record-of-rights at the public expense was inadvisable, the district of Noakhali is the first in the Province in which it should be made.

305. Bound volumes containing complete copies of the record-of-rights have been prepared for the District Judge of Noakhali and for his Munsifs. Experience in other districts as well as this has shown that there is difficulty in obtaining space for the deposit of these volumes where they can easily be available for reference, and that in fact reference is made to them very seldom indeed. The Tenancy Act, section 148 (b) (1) and (b) (2) requires that the plaint in a rent suit shall contain a reference to the record of the tenancy and a statement of the rent recorded. The reference may be omitted if the Court is satisfied that the plaintiff is unable to give it. When the Court admits a plaint which does not contain the reference it shall, and in any other case it may, require the Collector to supply an extract from the record-of-rights. In practice the bound volumes supplied to the Munsifs do not take the place of such an extract. It appears to be generally held that the Munsif cannot consult one of his bound volumes and refer to what he finds in it in his judgment, unless a separate copy is produced and placed on the record of the case. The consequence is that in practice the Munsif in a rent suit never consults the bound volumes that have been made over to him. That there is within his reach a copy of the record may, however, have the effect of deterring parties from making incorrect statements of the contents of the record in the plaints of cases expected to be decreed *ex parte*. It has no other utility. Copies cannot be given to the public from the Munsifs' volumes for they are not the original record but themselves only copies. In cases under section 9 of the Specific Relief Act again the position is the same. The Munsif cannot consult his volumes and make use of what he finds in his judgment unless a copy of the record is placed in the file of the case by one of the parties. Original cases which come before the Sub-Judges and District Judges are usually better conducted than those before Munsifs and are seldom decided *ex parte*. If either party has anything to gain from the production of a copy of the record-of-rights in Court it may be assumed that it will produce one. Moreover, as such suits are usually title-suits the importance of the record, based only on possession, is not so great as in rent suits and suits under section 9 of the Specific Relief Act. In appeals before the Sub-Judges or the District Judge the decision is based entirely on evidence which has been placed on the record in the Lower Court. It appears, therefore, that the Sub-Judges and the District Judge never find the need of referring to their bound volumes of the record-of-rights. The inevitable conclusion is that it is nothing but waste to supply the District Judge with a copy of the record, and that the Munsif's copy only remains in his office to act as a deterrent to false statements of the contents of it being made in plaints filed before them. It was arranged to give the Munsifs and District Judges copies with the idea of encouraging reference to them in the Courts. The plan fails. The copy for the District Judge having been prepared it might conceivably have been useful to make it over to the Bar Library, but there are many objections. In Noakhali district in

\* The Select Committee in their report said: "We understand that the clause is intended to be purely an experimental measure, its object being to introduce into the Rent Law of Bengal a principle which has not existed there before".

particular, I understand, the Bar Library would prefer not to receive a copy of the record owing to the difficulty and expense of housing it. The conclusion arrived at is that in future settlements, even if the copy for the Munsifs continues to be prepared, that for the District Judge should be prepared no longer.

306. It now remains for me to acknowledge the services of the officers who were employed during the operations. A list of the names of gazetted officers with the period of each one's employment and the work on which he was employed, as well as a list of the names of *Kānungos*, is given in Appendix X. Though the Tippera-Noakhali Settlement had an I. C. S. Assistant Settlement Officer only for two field seasons and for one month in a third, the Indian staff was an experienced one. This was especially the case in the second and third seasons when Jessore Settlement was postponed and the number of Settlement Parties reduced. Tippera, perhaps more than Noakhali, reaped the benefit. The Settlement owes a great debt to Khan Sahib A. K. Kabiruddin Ahmed who was a Charge Officer in each of the four field seasons. He was in Noakhali the first two years controlling the work in Feni the first year and in Lakshmipur and the Hātiās the second year, and his unfailing energy was a great asset. Mr. Henderson's energy was useful and if he had stayed a second season after learning what he did in the first his services would have been very valuable. Maulvi Abdul Jalil Khan, Deputy Collector, has done admirably as Head-quarters Assistant Settlement Officer. The Circle Officers employed in Noakhali whom to mention and whose assistance to acknowledge is especially a pleasure to me are :—

Maulvi Paziruddin Ahmed, Munsif.  
 Babu Surendra Nath Sen Gupta, Sub-Deputy Collector.  
 Babu Chinta Haran Das Gupta, Sub-Deputy Collector.  
 Babu Rai Charan Pal, Sub-Deputy Collector.  
 Babu Prabhat Chandra Banerjee, Sub-Deputy Collector.  
 Babu Jogesh Chandra Guba, Revenue Officer.  
 Babu Asutosh Banerji, Revenue Officer.  
 Babu Upendra Nath Ganguli, Revenue Officer.

Babu Rai Charan Pal and Babu Prabhat Chandra Banerji carried through the work of revision of Land Revenue, a business in which they are now experts. The standard of thoroughness and energy which prevailed among the *Kānungos* was always high. In connection especially with the preparation of this Report, I have to thank Babu Surendra Kumar Ray, Head Clerk of the Office, and Babu Jyotish Chandra Basu, Statistical *Peshkar*.

During most of the progress of the Settlement the Director of Land Records has been Mr. McAlpin whose advice, instruction and support were always at hand. Several officers held the post of Collector of Noakhali to whom the Settlement is indebted for valuable assistance.

# INDEX.

A		B—conold.	
	Para.		Para.
Abdul Awāl Maulānā ...	59	Boatmen ...	50
Abul Fazl Allāmi ...	74, 96	Boats ...	39, 41, 42, 91
Abwāb ...	99, 114	Bore ...	14
Agricultural Stock ...	86	Boundary disputes ...	201
Ain-i-Akbari ...	94, 96	Bound volumes of records ...	304
Alabama River ...	30	<i>Brāhmaṇa</i> ...	53
<i>Aman</i> ...	74, 92	<i>Brāhmini</i> bulls ...	88
<i>Amin</i> ...	193, 194, 195, 197	Breeding cattle ...	88
Amirābād ...	206, 209	Buffaloes ...	90
Amirābād, Settlement of ...	124	Buildings ...	231
Amrābād ...	49	<i>Bujhārat</i> ...	209, 210
Amrābād, Khas ...	206	Buller ...	110, 112, 118, 118,
Amrābād Pargana ...	141		120.
Amrābād, Settlement of ...	118	Burirchar ...	11
Apportionment of costs ...	230, 297		
Arabs ...	56	C	
Areca ...	82	Calculation of costs ...	230
Arial Khon River ...	28	Calendar of estates ...	165, 166
Arracanese ...	94, 95	Carts ...	91
Arun Chandra Singh, Kumar ...	138	Case-work ...	284
Assam-Bengal Railway ...	32	Caste system ...	55
Aswadia, Settlement of ...	117	Census ...	44
<i>Aus</i> ...	74, 92	Certificates ...	299
		Cess Objections ...	230
B		Cess Revaluation ...	227, 228, 230, 287
Babupur Pargana ...	142	Cess Revaluation, Cost of ...	288
Babupur, Settlement of ...	124	Cess Revaluation, Draft publication of. ...	230
<i>Bādshahi Lākheraj</i> ...	129	Cess Revaluation Roll ...	230
Bagula Dona ...	11	Chakla Roanābād ...	180, 181, 184
Bāhir Chara ...	252, 255	Chāndnāndi ...	11, 24
<i>Baidyas</i> ...	55	Chandraganj ...	64
Bajra <i>Tāluka</i> ...	149	Chandra's Jurisdiction Lists ...	199
Bakarganj ...	69, 71, 72	Char Abābil ...	27, 273
Bālamnārā ...	270	„ Abdullahā ...	281
Bāmni ...	23, 25, 30	„ Afzāl ...	24
Bānchanagar ...	270	„ Afzāl Fakira ...	262
<i>Bārai</i> ...	53	„ Alexander ...	12, 264
Barakheri ...	11, 24, 130	„ Algi of Hātīā ...	24
<i>Barga</i> ...	177	„ Algi Case ...	221
Barton ...	22	„ Allen ...	255
Basurhāt ...	64	„ Amānulla ...	7, 28
Bedārābād ...	206, 219	„ Radarpur ...	253, 255
Beggars ...	50	„ Badu ...	30
Bengal Tenancy Act. Section 50 ...	218	„ Badu Lakshmi ...	243
Bengal Tenancy Act, Section 52 ...	220	„ Bairāgi ...	27
<i>Bepari</i> ...	55	„ Bangshi ...	272
Betel-nut ...	82	„ Basu ...	12
Betel-nut trees ...	5, 6	„ Bātā (Mainland) ...	22
<i>Bhadralok</i> ...	53	„ Bātū (of Char Bayley) ...	7, 28
<i>Bhadralok</i> in Ranganj ...	46	„ Bātā (of Hātīā) ...	11
Bhulūā Pargana ...	137, 138, 139	„ Bāuria ...	183, 237, 238
Bhulūā, Settlement of ...	124	„ Bayley ...	257, 278
Birendra Road ...	37	„ Bedāmā ...	12
Blake ...	17	„ Behāri ...	260
Board of Revenue ...	110	„ Bhutākhalī ...	255



C—contd.		Para.	C—concl'd.		Para.
Char Brikachhn	...	28	Chillis	...	81, 92
„ Chandia	...	280	Chitrakhāli	...	24
„ Dhupi	...	240	Civil Suits against Govern- ment	...	283
„ Dirghapār	...	183, 237, 238	Cocoanuts	...	82, 83
„ Falcon	..	12, 45, 198	Cocoanut Trees	...	5, 6
„ Gachhua	..	239, 245	Colinda Factory	...	34
„ Gāzi	...	11, 24	Collection of rent, Separate	...	203
„ Goālgāon	...	253, 255	Committee of Circuit	...	103, 107
„ Gosūin	...	11, 24	Committee of Revenue	...	109, 110
„ Gullākhāli	...	255	Contingent expenditure	...	291, 292
„ Hakdi	...	253, 255	Cooke, Mr.	...	243
„ Harishpur	...	237, 238	Coparcenary	...	168
„ Hāssan Hussain	...	24	Costs, apportionment of	...	230, 297
„ Hinguli	...	255	Cost of Cess Revaluation	...	288
„ Hudrakdāli	...	130	Courjou	...	151
„ Huzuri	...	253, 255	Court-fee in case of section 105 (a)	...	285
„ Ijjatpur	...	238	Crop-cutting experiment	...	92
„ Iswar Ray, Part I	...	182, 183	Crop statistics	...	231
„ Iswar Ray, Part II	...	269	Cultivated area	...	66
„ Jabbar	... 7, 25, 28, 182, 183, 256.		Culturable area	...	66, 67
„ Jagabandhu	...	12, 45, 198, 262	Custom regarding trees	...	85
„ Jogini	...	23, 25	Custom, Tenure by	...	215
„ Jubilee	...	7, 28, 256	Cyclone	...	47
„ Kachiāpār	...	183, 237, 238	<b>D</b>		
„ Khandakār	...	150, 182, 183	Dāgan Bhuia	...	65
„ Khoāz	...	24	Dāmi Settlements	...	132
„ King	...	11	Dālāl Bāzār Babus	...	179, 214, 272
„ Kuchiāmora	...	240	Dakātiā R.	...	2
„ Lakshmi (of Hātiā)	...	11, 24	Dakshin Shāhabāzpur	...	163
„ Langulia	...	7, 28	Dāndrā	...	49, 56, 180
„ Lawrence	...	12, 262	Dāndrā, Settlement of	...	124
„ Lengta	...	10, 30, 258, 278	Dandridge, George	...	22, 113, 137, 141, 158
„ Madhuāi	...	253, 255	Dasārā	...	214
„ Magdhara	... 198, 237, 239, 241, 244.		Date palm	...	83
„ Magni	...	23, 25	Debipur	...	273
„ Mānasha	...	22	Decennial Settlement	...	111, 112
„ Matuā	...	22, 199	Demarcation Cases	...	202
„ Mehār	...	264	Density of population	...	45
„ Mirzāmārā	...	273	Diara resumptions	...	128, 130, 257, 258, 276, 284.
„ Moharā	...	273	Diara Survey	...	19, 276-282
„ Niāmat	...	24, 264	Dilāl Khān	...	46
„ Pānchbāria	...	238	Draft publication	...	225
„ Pīr Baksha	...	30, 245	Dudu Miān	...	57
„ Rahim	...	240, 245	Duncan, Johnathan	...	114
„ Shāhābhikari	...	130, 250	<b>E</b>		
„ Santoshpur	...	239, 245	Ellahābād	...	158
„ Sekandar	...	24, 262	Ellahābād, Settlement of	...	124
„ Siddhi	...	25, 30, 240, 245	Estate Bundles	...	165
„ Sita	...	12	„ No. 211	...	251, 254
„ Sultānpur	...	237, 238	„ No. 1301	...	255
„ Tamaraddi	...	11, 198, 268	„ No. 1302	...	255
„ Thika	...	260	„ No. 1559	...	253, 255
„ Udaykāli	...	12, 191	„ No. 1569	...	262, 263
„ Udmārā	...	273, 275	„ No. 1581	...	250
„ Villages of Sandwip	...	236	„ No. 1624	...	240
Chaudhurī Lārāi	...	42			
Chaumuhini	...	32, 64			
Chengar Char	...	11, 198			
Chhattarpāia	...	64			



L—concl'd.		Para	N—concl'd.		Para.
Lakshmipur Factory ...		34	Noakhali Khal ...		2
Lakshmipur Khāl ...		2	" Municipality ...		191
Landlords' agents ...		52	" Town ...		25
Lāw Rāj ...	153, 215, 219		Non-agriculturists ...		50
Lawrence ...		50			
Lee, George ...		147			
Leeke, Mr. ...		110			
Leeke's road, Mr. ...	34, 35, 36		O		
Lemua ...		64	Objections, Cess ...		230
Little Feni river ...		2	Objection under section 103A ...		225, 226
Lloyd, Commander ...	13, 21, 31		Occupancy rights ...		223, 224
M			Office buildings ...		187
Maghs ...		49	Officers ...		305
Muhendra Khāl ...		2	P		
Mahtote ...		114	Padma, R. ...		27
Malangis ...		127	Pāikpārā Rāj ...		137, 141, 142
Mālikana, permanent for Amrābād.		118	Palmyra ...		83
Manāipir ...	24, 279		Pānbaraz ...		81
Mango ...		84	Panchās Hāzāri estates ...		140
Maps, thana ...		63	Pārhati Charan Ray, Bābu		19
Mārfat Dākhlila ...		219	Pardah system ...		55
Mauza ...		199	Parganas, area of ...		136
McGuire ...	112, 116, 119, 121		Parr ...		116, 121, 122
Meghna ...		7, 27	Partāl ...		196
Mehār Pargana ...		162	Partition ...		237, 250, 253
Merger ...		222	Pātarihāt Factory ...		34
Milan khasra ...		231	Paterson, David ...		110, 113
Mississippi, R. ...	30, 31		Patikārā Pargana ...		161
Money-lenders ...		50	Patni Regulation ...		301
Motra ...		64	Patni Sales Law ...	139, 141, 143, 144,	151
Mudāfat ...		205	Plots, Size of ...		207
Muhammad Rezā Khān ...		103	Plowden ...		127
Muklud Shola-anna ...	242, 269		Population ...		44
Mukloot lands of Bhuluā		22	Poragāchā ...		12
Municipality, Noakhali ...		191	Portuguese ...		9, 94
Munsiā (Hātiā) ...		29	Preliminary office work ...		208
Murshid Quli Khān ...		98	Printing ...		231
Mutawali of waqf ...		169	Produce rents ...		177
N			Proof-reading ...		232
Nalchira ...	11, 24, 267		Promotion, tenure by ...		215
Nalchira Dona ...		11	Proprietary allowance ...		249
Namasudras ...		53	Proprietors' lands ...		171, 172
Nandaji, Mr. ...		243	Provincial Council at Dacca ...		106
Nāpit ...		53	Publication, Draft ...		225
Nautical survey ...		13	Public lands ...		212
Nilakhi ...	11, 24		Q		
" Diara ...		269	Quinquennial papers ...		126, 165
Nilakhi estate ...		140	" registers ...		165
Nilām Bhawāni Charan ...		155	" settlement ...		104
Nile ...		31			
Nirekh kāyemi ...	6, 220, 221				
Noakhali Branch Railway	32, 213				

**R**

**S—concl'd.**

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<b>T—concl'd.</b>			<b>V</b>		
		Para.			Para.
Tora Pargana	...	162	Vegetables	...	81
"    Settlement of		116			
Traverse survey	...	188			
Trees, Custom regarding		85			
Tugral, Mohammad	...	94			
Tum Char	...	29			
<b>U</b>			<b>W</b>		
Udaykāli	... ..	10, 11, 198	<i>Wāhābis</i>	...	58
<i>Ufra</i>	... ..	75	<i>Wakf</i>	...	169
Unculturable area	...	66, 68	Walters, Mr.	...	24, 156, 281, 301
Under-raiyats	...	224	Washermen	...	50, 53
			Water Hyacinth	...	75
			Weavers	...	50, 127
			Winter crop	...	72



सत्यमेव जयते

APPENDIX I—Map of the district.

APPENDIX II—Maps illustrating changes in the configuration of the  
— land.

APPENDIX III—Map illustrating position of *parganas*.

APPENDIX IV—Map showing temporarily-settled area.

Errata in map forming Appendix IV.





# APPENDIX V.

## Conversion Tables I and II between old and new Tauzi Numbers on the Noakhali Tauzi Roll.

Conversion Table I.

New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.
1	1089	67	558	133	316	199	1469	265	1104	331	1157
2	1090	68	559	134	707	200	1564	266	1123	332	1179
3	1071	69	560	135	514	201	1397	267	1113	333	1138
4	1072	70	466	136	708	202	1248	268	1155	334	1158
5	1314	71	467	137	22	203	1249	269	1170	335	1111
6	1260	72	700	138	145	204	1255	270	1105	336	1328
7	1261	73	701	139	568	205	1192	271	1127	337	1361
8	1262	74	286	140	11	206	1250	272	1117	338	
9	1263	75	834	141	81	207	249	273	1144	339	
10	1264	76	835	142	82	208	1578	274	1336	340	1326
11	1215	77	836	143	83	209	1247	275	1360	341	1209
12	1245	78	3	144	537	210	1388	276	1345	342	1200
13	1246	79	311	145	403	211	1390	277	1350	343	1203
14	1402	80	312	146	404	212	1389	278	1351	344	1196
15	1460	81	137	147	343	213	1256	279	1352	345	1204
16	1393	82	702	148	206	214	1256	280	1353	346	1210
17	1384	83	253	149	207	215	1268	281	1333	347	23
18	1450	84	17	150	240	216	1252	282		348	379
19	1375	85	837	151	241	217		283		349	385
20	1376	86	703	152	823	218		284		350	254
21	1186	87	10	153	651	219		285	1341	351	146
22	1187	88	536	154	652	220		286	1345	352	569
23	1188	89	150	155	784	221		287	1324	353	570
24	1189	90	781	156	785	222		288	1354	354	571
25	1092	91	268	157	786	223	1100	289	1330	355	360
26	1093	92	782	158		224	1101	290		356	147
27	1094	93	783	159	909	225	1159	291		357	709
28	1695	94	650	160	910	226	1145	292	1342	358	24
29	1151	95	18	161	870	227	1146	293	1356	359	25
30	1140	96	19	162	451	228	1349	294	1346	360	26
31	1096	97	20	163	486	229	1332	295	1327	361	4
32	1212	98	21	164	538	230		296	1194	362	27
33	1322	99	512	165	653	231	1325	297	1195	363	28
34	1331	100	138	166	787	232	1323	298	1202	364	29
35		101	123	167	208	233		299	1199	365	30
36	1347	102	110	168	983	234	1373	300	1208	366	31
37	1358	103	313	169	1051	235	1374	301	1201	367	32
38		104	314	170	1052	236	1206	302	1171	368	515
39	1197	105	139	171	967	237	1205	303	1137	369	516
40	1193	106	140	172	1033	238	1394	304	1183	370	148
41	1367	107	141	173	992	239	1102	305	1172	371	149
42	1311	108	816	174	1034	240	1152	306	1184	372	381
43	1312	109	561	175	1035	241	1180	307	1130	373	382
44	1385	110	562	176	1315	242	1162	308	1106	374	125
45	1386	111	563	177	1213	243	1163	309	1173	375	497
46	1097	112	564	178	1368	244	1164	310	1185	376	498
47	1098	113	565	179	1396	245	1119	311	1174	377	270
48	1099	114	566	180	1398	246	1135	312	1131	378	940
49		115	567	181	1412	247	1139	313	1175	379	941
50		116	428	182	1413	248	1165	314	1121	380	317
51		117	704	183	1414	249	1181	315	1176	381	318
52	1338	118	705	184	1415	250	1147	316	1177	382	319
53		119	706	185	1416	251	1141	317	1124	383	150
54	1371	120	287	186	1269	252	1125	318	1115	384	151
55	1372	121	838	187	1310	253	1133	319	1107	385	152
56	1198	122	839	188	1313	254	1153	320	1178	386	153
57	1207	123	131	189	1190	255	1126	321	1148	387	233
58	1	124	315	190	1265	256	1136	322	1108	388	572
59	2	125	124	191	1255	257	1120	323	1143	389	574
60	699	126	513	192	1488	258	1103	324	1149	390	575
61	16	127	429	193	1464	259	1142	325	1109	391	576
62	511	128	142	194	1465	260	1182	326	1122	392	577
63	377	129	143	195	1317	261	1129	327	1110	393	578
64	251	130	468	196	1250	262	1116	328	1132	394	579
65	252	131	378	197	1455	263	1169	329		395	580
66	136	132	144	198	1535	264	1154	330	1150	396	581

New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.
397	582	475	915	553	593	631	873	709	621	787	821
398	583	476	282	554	594	632	608	710	622	788	888
399	584	477	34	555	595	633	260	711	623	789	482
400	430	478	35	556	596	634	609	712	624	790	889
401	431	479	36	557	597	635	294	713	625	791	760
402	432	480	37	558	598	636	49	714	626	792	635
403	433	481	38	559	599	637	874	715	627	793	422
404	115	482	39	560	600	638	235	716	628	794	187
405	710	483	40	561	601	639	610	717	629	795	367
406	711	484	41	562	602	640	500	718	630	796	761
407	712	485	42	563	603	641	736	719	631	797	762
408	713	486	43	564	604	642	475	720	632	798	331
409	714	487	44	565	434	643	50	721	633	799	890
410	715	488	45	566	435	644	51	722	439	800	443
411	840	489	46	567	436	645	52	723	440	801	636
412	841	490	47	568	437	646	53	724	441	802	368
413	288	491	518	569	438	647	54	725	442	803	299
414	842	492	519	570	116	648	55	726	476	804	891
415	843	493	520	571	6	649	56	727	477	805	529
416	289	494	521	572	117	650		728	478	806	444
417	844	495	522	573	469	651	58	729	479	807	530
418	845	496	552	574	470	652	59	730	480	808	763
419	846	497	524	575	471	653	60	731	481	809	531
420	847	498	525	576	472	654	61	732	737	810	892
421	357	499	156	577	473	655	62	733	738	811	532
422	383	500	157	578	474	656	63	734	739	812	764
423	585	501	272	579	718	657	554	735	740	813	68
424	848	502	290	580	710	658	526	736	742	814	398
425	517	503	158	581	720	659	527	737	741	815	765
426	154	504	159	582	721	660	528	738	743	816	766
427	849	505	273	583	722	661	173	739	744	817	262
428	155	506	160	584	723	662	275	740	745	818	483
429	33	507	274	585	724	663	175	741	746	819	893
430	850	508	418	586	725	664	295	742	747	820	277
431	5	509	384	587	726	665	276	743	748	821	86
432	851	510	419	588	727	666	390	744	749	822	87
433	716	511	380	589	728	667	391	745	750	823	88
434	717	512	386	590	729	668		746	751	824	89
435	586	513	387	591	730	669	392	747	752	825	90
436	84	514	388	592	731	670	393	748	753	826	91
437	955	515	389	593	732	671	394	749	754	827	92
438	911	516	420	594	733	672	395	750	755	828	93
439	371	517	48	595	734	673	113	751	756	829	541
440	85	518	499	596	852	674	501	752	757	830	542
441	539	519	271	597	853	675	261	753	758	831	543
442	556	520	255	598	291	676	946	754	875	832	212
443	303	521	256	599	854	677	947	755	876	833	283
444	405	522	257	600	292	678	948	756	877	834	213
445	423	523	258	601	855	679	949	757	296	835	214
446	424	524	259	602	856	680	322	758	878	836	408
447	406	525	234	603	857	681	323	759	879	837	425
448	407	526	942	604	858	682	324	760	64	838	409
449	506	527	943	605	859	683	325	761	298	839	410
450	956	528	944	606	860	684	326	762	880	840	358
451	242	529	111	607	293	685	327	763	881	841	411
452	209	530	126	608	861	686	236	764	882	842	128
453	243	531	320	609	862	687	237	765	883	843	269
454	210	532	321	610	863	688	174	766	884	844	957
455	654	533	161	611	864	689	176	767	885	845	958
456	655	534	162	612	865	690	177	768	886	846	959
457	656	535	163	613	866	691	178	769	887	847	960
458	120	536	164	614	867	692	179	770	363	848	961
459	121	537	165	615	868	693	180	771	364	849	345
460	487	538	166	616	361	694	181	772	65	850	346
461	788	539	167	617	362	695	182	773	132	851	347
462	789	540	168	618	7	696	183	774	328	852	348
463	912	541	169	619	112	697	184	775	329	853	244
464	913	542	170	620	171	698	185	776	66	854	215
465	372	543	817	621	869	699	611	777	396	855	216
466	657	544	818	622	605	700	612	778	365	856	217
467	914	545	819	623	606	701	613	779	67	857	218
468	658	546	820	624	870	702	614	780	950	858	219
469	344	547	587	625	607	703	615	781	759	859	220
470	211	548	588	626	945	704	616	782	330	860	245
471	659	549	589	627	735	705	617	783	366	861	246
472	540	550	590	628	871	706	618	784	634	862	824
473	452	551	591	629	172	707	619	785	397	863	825
474	660	552	592	630	872	708	620	786	186	864	833

New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.
865	826	943	828	1021	76	1099	859	1177	938	1255	1020
866	827	944	680	1022	77	1100	899	1178	939	1256	1002
867	661	945	681	1023	78	1101	900	1179	376	1257	1031
868	662	946	682	1024	533	1102	301	1180	14	1258	986
869	663	947	683	1025	555	1103	901	1181	15	1259	1046
870	664	948	684	1026	534	1104	127	1182	135	1260	1021
871	665	949		1027	535	1105	339	1183	130	1261	993
872	666	950	686	1028	188	1106	281	1184	355	1262	1047
873	667	951	687	1029	278	1107	369	1185	416	1263	999
874	668	952	689	1030	189	1108	9	1186	465	1264	1061
875	669	953	688	1031	190	1109	340	1187	813	1265	970
876	670	954	690	1032	279	1110	239	1188	356	1266	1062
877	671	955	459	1033	280	1111	902	1189	814	1267	1000
878	672	956	460	1034	399	1112	505	1190	109	1268	1063
879	673	957	461	1035	400	1113	903	1191	815	1269	990
880	674	958	462	1036	401	1114	644	1192	557	1270	965
881	675	959	796	1037	502	1115	953	1193	558	1271	1005
882	676	960	797	1038	503	1116	341	1194	417	1272	994
883	453	961	798	1039	504	1117	79	1195	976	1273	1069
884	454	962	799	1040	263	1118	645	1196	1012	1274	1048
885	455	963	800	1041	265	1119	904	1197	1007	1275	1064
886	456	964	801	1042	264	1120	342	1198	1053	1276	1099
887	457	965	802	1043	266	1121	778	1199	1036	1277	969
888	488	966	803	1044	267	1122	905	1200	989	1278	968
889	489	967	804	1045	951	1123	646	1201	1022	1279	1016
890	490	968	925	1046	952	1124	906	1202	1037	1280	987
891	491	969	305	1047	332	1125	449	1203	1067	1281	1065
892	492	970	926	1048	333	1126	779	1204	1023	1282	1049
893	790	971	306	1049	334	1127	647	1205	1054	1283	1006
894	791	972	928	1050	335	1128	80	1206	1024	1284	995
895	792	973	929	1051	336	1129	648	1207	977	1285	996
896	793	974	930	1052	337	1130	450	1208	1017	1286	1070
897	794	975	307	1053	338	1131	907	1209	1038	1287	1066
898	795	976	374	1054	191	1132	649	1210	1003	1288	991
899	916	977	375	1055	192	1133	780	1211	1039	1289	1011
900	304	978	12	1056	233	1134	202	1212	974	1290	1032
901	917	979	129	1057	193	1135	954	1213	1040	1291	988
902	918	980	352	1058	194	1136	203	1214	997	1292	966
903	919	981	829	1059	195	1137	402	1215	1041	1293	1370
904	920	982	931	1060	196	1138	204	1216	1042	1294	1417
905	921	983	463	1061	197	1139	908	1217	1001	1295	1418
906	922	984	102	1062	198	1140	105	1218	973	1296	1419
907	923	985	805	1063	199	1141	106	1219	972	1297	1420
908	373	986	353	1064	200	1142	107	1220	1068	1298	1421
909	94	987	354	1065	201	1143	552	1221	1004	1299	1422
910	133	988	308	1066	822	1144	284	1222	1013	1300	1423
911	134	989	412	1067	637	1145	227	1223	1025	1301	1424
912	349	990	493	1068	638	1146	285	1224	1055	1302	1425
913	677	991	550	1069	639	1147	427	1225	975	1303	1426
914	678	992	809	1070	640	1148	415	1226	1018	1304	1427
915	679	993	932	1071	641	1149	359	1227	1019	1305	1429
916	924	994	494	1072	642	1150	510	1228	984	1306	1428
917	95	995	962	1073	643	1151	964	1229	982	1307	1430
918	96	996	413	1074	445	1152	228	1230	1014	1308	1431
919	97	997	691	1075	446	1153	229	1231	1010	1309	1432
920	98	998	103	1076	447	1154	230	1232	971	1310	1433
921	99	999	692	1077	448	1155	231	1233	1056	1311	1434
922	100	1000	933	1078	118	1156	232	1234	998	1312	1435
923	544	1001	495	1079	119	1157	880	1235	1057	1313	1437
924	545	1002	693	1080	8	1158	831	1236	1026	1314	1438
925	546	1003	509	1081	484	1159	832	1237	978	1315	1439
926	547	1004	934	1082	485	1160	694	1238	979	1316	1441
927	548	1005	104	1083	767	1161	695	1239	1008	1317	1440
928	549	1006	806	1084	768	1162	696	1240	1058	1318	1442
929	114	1007	122	1085	769	1163	697	1241	1027	1319	1443
930	101	1008		1086	770	1164	698	1242	1043	1320	1444
931	507	1009	963	1087	771	1165	464	1243	1044	1321	1445
932	508	1010	414	1088	772	1166	108	1244	1015	1322	1446
933	350	1011	226	1089	773	1167	13	1245	1050	1323	1459
934	351	1012	935	1090	774	1168	496	1246	981	1324	1461
935	221	1013	807	1091	775	1169	808	1249	1059	1325	1462
936	247	1014	69	1092	776	1170	809	1248	1060	1326	297
937	248	1015	70	1093	777	1171	810	1249	985	1327	1400
938	222	1016	71	1094	894	1172	811	1250	980	1328	1399
939	223	1017	72	1095	895	1173	812	1251	1028	1329	1448
940	224	1018	73	1096	896	1174	310	1252	1029	1330	1353
941	225	1019	74	1097	300	1175	936	1253	1045	1331	1254
942	458	1020	75	1098	897	1176	937	1254	1030	1332	1447

New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.
1333	1447	1411	1693	1489	1633	1567		1644		1722	
1334	1414	1412	1610	1490	1746	1568		1645		1723	
1335	1581	1413	1642	1491	1734	1569	1451	1646		1724	
1336	1582	1414	1664	1492	1623	1570		1647	1756	1725	
1337	1112	1415	1611	1493	1624	1571		1648		1726	
1338	1118	1416	1679	1494	1714	1572		1649		1727	
1339	1128	1417	1612	1495	1747	1573		1650		1728	
1340	1161	1418	1643	1496	1748	1574		1651		1729	
1341	1588	1419	1644	1497	1685	1575		1652		1730	
1342		1420	1694	1498	1674	1576		1653		1731	
1343		1421	1695	1499	1625	1577		1654		1732	
1344		1422	1613	1500	1675	1578		1655		1733	
1345	1645	1423	1680	1501	1735	1579		1656		1734	
1346	1753	1424	1690	1502	1652	1580		1657		1735	
1347	1714	1425	1646	1503	1676	1581		1658		1736	
1348	1662	1426	1665	1504	1737	1582		1659		1737	
1349	1701	1427	1654	1505	1603	1583		1660		1738	
1350	1609	1428	1614	1506	1257	1584		1661		1739	
1351	1704	1429	1655	1507	1252	1585		1662	1410	1740	
1352	1736	1430	1632	1508	1251	1586		1663		1741	
1353	1749	1431	1705	1509	1257	1587	1267	1664	1380	1742	
1354	1634	1432	1666	1510	1252	1588	1319	1665	1388	1743	
1355	1626	1433	1659	1511	1251	1589	1320	1666	1539	1744	
1356	1597	1434	1726	1512	1762	1590	1572	1667	1528	1745	
1357	1715	1435	1727	1513	1760	1591		1668	1561	1746	
1358	1635	1436	1647	1514		1592	1769	1669	1576	1747	
1359	1598	1437	1667	1515	1763	1593		1670	1478	1748	
1360	1716	1438	1743	1516	1764	1594		1671	1490	1749	
1361	1687	1439	1754	1517	1759	1595	1078	1672	1519	1750	
1362	1636	1440	1755	1518	108	1596		1673	1546	1751	
1363	1691	1441	1666	1519	527	1597		1674	1518	1752	
1364	1599	1442	1668	1520		1598	1408	1675		1753	
1365	1594	1443	1648	1521		1599	1569	1676	1472	1754	
1366	1696	1444	1684	1522		1600	1593	1677	1467	1755	
1367	1600	1445	1713	1523		1601	1541	1678	1513	1756	
1368	1601	1446	1615	1524		1602	1470	1679		1757	
1369	1683	1447	1616	1525		1603		1680		1758	
1370	1717	1448	1617	1526		1604	1495	1681		1759	
1371	1688	1449	1681	1527		1605	1500	1682		1760	
1372	1677	1450	1698	1528		1606		1683		1761	
1373	1637	1451	1596	1529		1607	1522	1684		1762	1257
1374	1602	1452	1682	1530		1608	1250	1685		1763	1256
1375	1738	1453	1728	1531		1609	1787	1686	1468	1764	1251
1376	1739	1454	1649	1532		1610		1687		1765	
1377	1604	1455	1618	1533		1611	1591	1688		1766	
1378	1605	1456	1669	1534		1612	1457	1689		1767	
1379	1686	1457	1752	1535		1613	1404	1690		1768	
1380	1689	1458	1627	1536		1614	1452	1691		1769	
1381	1660	1459	1706	1537		1615	1403	1692		1770	
1382	1697	1460	1670	1538		1616	1383	1693		1771	1375
1383	1638	1461	1621	1539		1617	1391	1694		1772	
1384	1653	1462	1729	1540		1618	1407	1695		1773	
1385	1692	1463	1628	1541		1619	1456	1696		1774	
1386	1658	1464	1699	1542		1620	1406	1697		1775	
1387	1606	1465	1671	1543		1621	1453 &	1698		1776	
1388	1710	1466	1619	1544			1654	1699		1777	
1389	1689	1467	1672	1545	1486	1622	1458	1700		1778	
1390	1740	1468	1657	1546	1079	1623	1387	1701		1779	
1391	1741	1469	1650	1547	1073	1624	1449	1702		1780	
1392	1661	1470	1651	1548	1077	1625	1768	1703		1781	
1393	1742	1471	1629	1549	1076	1626	1540	1704		1782	
1394	1702	1472	1707	1550	1074	1627		1705		1783	
1395	1719	1473	1730	1551	1318	1628		1706		1784	
1396	1720	1474	1708	1552	1377	1629		1707		1785	
1397	1721	1475	1620	1553	1369	1630		1708		1786	
1398	1722	1476	1744	1554	1378	1631	1560	1709		1787	
1399	1640	1477	1700	1555		1632		1710		1788	
1400	1641	1478	1731	1556		1633		1711		1789	
1401	1751	1479	1673	1557		1634		1712		1790	
1402	1607	1480	1630	1558	1316	1635		1713		1791	
1403	1608	1481	1622	1559	1266	1636	1574	1714		1792	
1404	1723	1482	1732	1560		1637	1492	1715		1793	
1405	1663	1483	1712	1561	1256	1638	1381	1716		1794	
1406	1724	1484	1631	1562	1257	1639	1450	1717		1795	
1407	1703	1485	1745	1563		1640		1718		1796	
1408	1595	1486	1709	1564	1251	1641		1719		1797	
1409	1678	1487	1733	1565	1255	1642	1661	1720		1798	
1410	1725	1488	1711	1566	1411	1643		1721	1160	1799	

New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.
1800		1826		1852		1878		1904		1930	
1801		1827		1853		1879		1905		1931	
1802		1828		1854		1880		1906		1932	
1803		1829		1855		1881		1907		1933	
1804		1830		1856		1882		1908		1934	
1805		1831		1857		1883		1909		1935	
1806		1832		1858		1884		1910		1936	
1807		1833		1859		1885		1911		1937	
1808		1834		1860		1886		1912		1938	
1809		1835		1861		1887		1913		1939	
1810		1836		1862		1888		1914		1940	
1811		1837		1863		1889		1915		1941	
1812		1838		1864		1890		1916		1942	
1813		1839		1865		1891		1917		1943	
1814		1840		1866		1892		1918			
1815		1841		1867		1893		1919			
1816		1842		1868		1894		1920			
1817		1843		1869		1895		1921			
1818		1844		1870		1896		1922			
1819		1845		1871		1897		1923			
1820		1846		1872		1898		1924			
1821		1847		1873		1899		1925			
1822		1848		1874		1900		1926			
1823		1849		1875		1901		1927			
1824		1850		1876		1902		1928			
1825		1851		1877		1903		1929			



सत्यमेव जयते

Conversion Table II.

Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.
1	58	76	1021	151	384	226	1011	301	1102	376	1179
2	59	77	1022	152	385	227	1145	302		377	63
3	78	78	1023	153	386	228	1152	303	443	378	131
4	361	79	1117	154	426	229	1153	304	900	379	348
5	431	80	1128	155	428	230	1154	305	969	380	511
6	571	81	141	156	499	231	1155	306	971	381	372
7	618	82	142	157	500	232	1156	307	975	382	373
8	1080	83	143	158	503	233	387	308	988	383	422
9	1108	84	436	159	504	234	525	309	992	384	509
10	87	85	440	160	506	235	638	310	1174	385	349
11	140	86	821	161	533	236	686	311	79	386	512
12	978	87	822	162	534	237	687	312	80	387	513
13	1167	88	823	163	535	238	1056	313	103	388	514
14	1180	89	824	164	536	239	1110	314	104	389	515
15	1181	90	825	165	537	240	150	315	124	390	666
16	61	91	826	166	538	241	151	316	133	391	667
17	84	92	827	167	539	242	451	317	380	392	669
18	95	93	828	168	540	243	453	318	381	393	670
19	96	94	909	169	541	244	853	319	382	394	671
20	97	95	917	170	542	245	860	320	531	395	672
21	98	96	918	171	620	246	861	321	532	396	777
22	137	97	919	172	629	247	936	322	680	397	785
23	317	98	920	173	661	248	937	323	681	398	814
24	358	99	921	174	688	249	207	324	682	399	1034
25	359	100	922	175	683	250		325	683	400	1085
26	360	101	930	176	689	251	64	326	684	401	1036
27	362	102	984	177	690	252	65	327	685	402	1137
28	363	103	998	178	691	253	83	328	774	403	145
29	364	104	1005	179	692	254	350	329	775	404	146
30	365	105	1140	180	693	255	520	330	782	405	444
31	366	106	1141	181	694	256	521	331	798	406	447
32	367	107	1142	182	695	257	522	332	1047	407	448
33	429	108	1166	183	696	258	523	333	1048	408	836
34	477	109	1190	184	697	259	524	334	1049	409	838
35	478	110	102	185	698	260	633	335	1050	410	839
36	479	111	529	186	786	261	675	336	1051	411	841
37	480	112	619	187	794	262	817	337	1052	412	989
38	481	113	673	188	1028	263	1040	338	1053	413	996
39	482	114	929	189	1030	264	1042	339	1105	414	1010
40	483	115	404	190	1031	265	1041	340	1109	415	1148
41	484	116	570	191	1054	266	1043	341	1116	416	1185
42	485	117	572	192	1055	267	1044	342	1120	417	1194
43	486	118	1078	193	1057	268	91	343		418	508
44	487	119	1079	194	1058	269	843	344	469	419	510
45	488	120	458	195	1059	270	377	345	849	420	516
46	489	121	459	196	1060	271	579	346	850	421	
47	490	122	1007	197	1061	272	501	347	851	422	793
48	517	123	101	198	1062	273	505	348	852	423	445
49	636	124	125	199	1083	274	507	349	912	424	446
50	643	125	574	200	1064	275	662	350	933	425	837
51	644	126	530	201	1065	276	665	351	934	426	
52	645	127	1104	202	1134	277	820	352	980	427	1147
53	646	128	842	203	1136	278	1029	353	986	428	116
54	647	129	979	204	1138	279	1032	354	987	429	127
55	648	130	1183	205		280	1033	355	1184	430	400
56	649	131	123	206		281	1106	356	1188	431	401
57		132	773	207	149	282	476	357	421	432	402
58	651	133	910	208	167	283	833	358	840	433	403
59	652	134	911	209	452	284	1144	359	1149	434	565
60	653	135	1182	210	454	285	1146	360	355	435	568
61	654	136	66	211	470	286	74	361	616	436	567
62	655	137	81	212	832	287	120	362	617	437	568
63	656	138	100	213	834	288	413	363	770	438	569
64	760	139	105	214	835	289	416	364	771	439	722
65	772	140	106	215	854	290	502	365	778	440	723
66	776	141	107	216	855	291	598	366	783	441	724
67	779	142	128	217	856	292	600	367	795	442	725
68	813	143	129	218	857	293	607	368	802	443	800
69	1014	144	132	219	858	294	635	369	1107	444	806
70	1015	145	138	220	859	295	664	370	161	445	1074
71	1016	146	351	221	935	296	757	371	439	446	1075
72	1017	147	356	222	938	297	1323	372	465	447	1076
73	1018	148	370	223	939	298	761	373	908	448	1077
74	1019	149	371	224	940	299	803	374	976	449	1125
75	1020	150	383	225	941	300	1097	375	977	450	1130

Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.
451	162	529	805	607	625	685		763	808	841	412
452	473	530	807	608	632	686	950	764	812	842	414
453	883	531	809	609	634	687	951	765	815	843	415
454	884	532	811	610	639	688	953	766	816	844	417
455	885	533	1024	611	699	689	952	767	1083	845	418
456	886	534	1026	612	700	690	954	768	1084	846	419
457	887	535	1027	613	701	691	997	769	1085	847	420
458	942	536	88	614	702	692	999	770	1086	848	424
459	955	537	144	615	703	693	1002	771	1087	849	427
460	956	538	164	616	704	694	1160	772	1088	850	430
461	957	539	441	617	705	695	1161	773	1089	851	432
462	958	540	472	618	706	696	1162	774	1090	852	596
463	983	541	829	619	707	697	1163	775	1091	853	597
464	1165	542	830	620	708	698	1164	776	1092	854	599
465	1186	543	831	621	709	699	60	777	1093	855	601
466	70	544	923	622	710	700	72	778	1121	856	602
467	71	545	924	623	711	701	73	779	1126	857	603
468	130	546	925	624	712	702	82	780	1133	858	604
469	573	547	926	625	713	703	86	781	90	859	605
470	574	548	927	626	714	704	117	782	93		1099
471	575	549	928	627	715	705	118	783	93	860	606
472	576	550	991	628	716	706	119	784	155	861	608
473	577	551		629	717	707	134	785	156	862	609
474	578	552	496,1143	630	718	708	136	786	157	863	610
475	642	553	1193	631	719	709	357	787		864	611
476	726	554	657	632	720	710	405	788	461	865	612
477	727	555	1025	633	721	711	406	789	462	866	613
478	728	556	442	634	722	712	407	790	893	867	614
479	729	557	1192	635	723	713	408	791	894	868	615
480	730	558	67	636	724	714	409	792	895	869	621
481	731	559	68	637	725	715	410	793	896	870	624
482	789	560	69	638	726	716	433	794	897	871	628
483	818	561	109	639	727	717	434	795	898	872	630
484	1081	562	110	640	728	718	579	796	959	873	631
485	1082	563	111	641	729	719	580	797	960	874	637
486	163	564	950	642	730	720	581	798	961	875	754
487	460	565	113	643	731	721	582	799	962	876	755
488	888	566	114	644	732	722	583	800	963	877	756
489	889	567	115	645	733	723	584	801	964	878	758
490	890	568	139	646	734	724	585	802	965	879	759
491	891	569	352	647	735	725	586	803	966	880	762
492	892	570	353	648	736	726	587	804	967	881	763
493	990	571	354	649	737	727	588	805	968	882	764
494	994	572	388	650	738	728	589	806	1006	883	765
495	1001	573		651	739	729	590	807	1013	884	766
496	1168	574	389	652	740	730	591	808	1169	885	767
497	375	575	390	653	741	731	592	809	1170	886	768
498	376	576	391	654	742	732	593	810	1171	887	769
499	518	577	392	655	743	733	594	811	1172	888	788
500	640	578	393	656	744	734	595	812	1173	889	790
501	674	579	394	657	745	735	627	813	1187	890	799
502	1037	580	395	658	746	736	641	814	1189	891	804
503	1038	581	396	659	747	737	732	815	1191	892	810
504	1039	582	397	660	748	738	733	816	108	893	819
505	1112	583	398	661	749	739	734	817	543	894	094
506	449	584	399	662	750	740	735	818	544	895	1095
507	931	585	423	663	751	741	736	819	545	896	1096
508	932	586	435	664	752	742	737	820	546	897	1098
509	1003	587	547	665	753	743	738	821	787	898	
510	1160	588	548	666	754	744	739	822	1066	899	1100
511	62	589	549	667	755	745	740	823	152	900	1101
512	99	590	550	668	756	746	741	824	862	901	1103
513	126	591	551	669	757	747	742	825	863	902	1111
514	135	592	552	670	758	748	743	826	865	903	1113
515	368	593	553	671	759	749	744	827	866	904	1119
516	369	594	554	672	760	750	745	828	943	905	1122
517	425	595	555	673	761	751	746	829	981	906	1124
518	491	596	556	674	762	752	747	830	1157	907	1131
519	492	597	557	675	763	753	748	831	1158	908	1139
520	493	598	558	676	764	754	749	832	1159	909	159
521	494	599	559	677	765	755	750	833	864	910	160
522	495	600	560	678	766	756	751	834	75	911	438
523		601	561	679	767	757	752	835	76	912	463
524	497	602	562	680	768	758	753	836	77	913	464
525	498	603	563	681	769	759	754	837	85	914	467
526	658	604	564	682	770	760	755	838	121	915	475
527	659	605	565	683	771	761	756	839	122	916	899
528	660	606	566	684	772	762	757	840	411	917	901



Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.
918	902	996	1285	1074	1550	1152	240	1230		1294	
919	903	997	1214	1075		1153	254	1231		1295	
920	904	998	1234	1076	1549	1154	264	1232		1296	
921	905	999	1263	1077	1548	1155	268	1233		1297	
922	906	1000	1267	1078	1595	1156		1234		1298	
923	907	1001	1217	1079	1546	1157	331	1235		1299	
924	916	1002	1256	1080		1158	334	1236		1300	
925	968	1003	1210	1081		1159	225	1237		1301	
926	970	1004	1221	1082		1160	1721	1238		1302	
927		1005	1271	1083		1161	1339	1239		1303	
928	972	1006	1283	1084		1162	242	1240		1304	
929	973	1007	1197	1085		1163	243	1241		1305	
930	974	1008	1239	1086		1164	244	1242		1306	
931	982	1009	1276	1087		1165	248	1243		1307	
932	993	1010	1231	1088		1166		1244		1308	
933	1000	1011	1289	1089	1	1167		1245	12	1309	
934	1004	1012	1196	1090	2	1168		1246	13	1310	187
935	1012	1013	1222	1091		1169	263	1247	209	1311	42
936	1175	1014	1230	1092	25	1170	269	1248	202	1312	43
937	1176	1015	1244	1093	26	1171	302	1249	203	1313	188
938	1177	1016	1279	1094	27	1172	305		196	1314	5
939	1178	1017	1208	1095	28	1173	309	1250	206	1315	176
940	378	1018	1226	1096	31	1174	311		1607	1316	1558
941	379	1019	1227	1097	46	1175	313		1508	1317	195
942	526	1020	1255	1098	47	1176	315	1251	1511	1318	1551
943	527	1021	1260	1099	48	1177	316		1564	1319	1588
944	528	1022	1201	1100	223	1178	320		1764	1320	1589
945	626	1023	1204	1101	224	1179	332		216	1321	
946	676	1024	1206	1102	239	1180	241	1252	1507	1322	33
947	677	1025	1223	1103	258	1181	249		1510	1323	232
948	678	1026	1236	1104	265	1182	260	1253	1330	1324	287
949	679	1027	1241	1105	270	1183	304	1254	1331	1325	231
950	780	1028	1251	1106	308	1184	306		191	1326	340
951	1045	1029	1252	1107	319	1185	310	1255	204	1327	295
952	1046	1030	1254	1108	322	1186	21		1565	1328	336
953	1115	1031	1257	1109	325	1187	22		213	1329	
954	1135	1032	1290	1110	327	1188	23	1256	1561	1330	289
955	437	1033	172	1111	335	1189	24		1763	1331	34
956	450	1034	174	1112	1336	1190	189		1506	1332	229
957	844	1035	175	1113	267	1191		1257	1509	1333	281
958	845	1036	1199	1114	1333	1192	205		1562	1334	
959	846	1037	1202	1115	318	1193	40		1762	1335	
960	847	1038	1209	1116	262	1194		1258		1336	274
961	848	1039	1211	1117	272	1195		1259		1337	
962	995	1040	1213	1118	1337	1196	344	1260	6	1338	52
963	1009	1041	1215	1119		1197	39	1261	7	1339	
964	1151	1042	1216	1120	257	1198	56	1262	8	1340	
965	1270	1043	1242	1121	314	1199	299	1263	9	1341	285
966	1292	1044	1243	1122	326	1200	342	1264	10	1342	292
967	171	1045	1253	1123	266	1201	301	1265	190	1343	
968	1278	1046	1259	1124	317	1202	298	1266	1559	1344	
969	1277	1047	1262	1125	252	1203	343	1267	1587	1345	286
970	1265	1048	1274	1126	255	1204	345	1268	215	1346	294
971	1232	1049	1282	1127	271	1205	237	1269	186	1347	36
972	1219	1050	1245	1128	1338	1206	236	1270		1348	
973	1218	1051		1129	261	1207	57	1271		1349	228
974	1212	1052		1130	307	1208	300	1272		1350	277
975	1225	1053	1198	1131	312	1209	341	1273		1351	278
976	1195	1054	1205	1132	328	1210	346	1274		1352	279
977	1207	1055	1224	1133	253	1211		1275		1353	280
978	1237	1056	1233	1134		1212	32	1276		1354	288
979	1238	1057	1235	1135	246	1213	177	1277		1355	
980	1250	1058	1240	1136	256	1214		1278		1356	293
981	1246	1059	1247	1137	303	1215	11	1279		1357	
982	1229	1060	1248	1138	333	1216		1280		1358	37
983	168	1061	1264	1139	247	1217		1281		1359	
984	1228	1062	1266	1140	30	1218		1282		1360	275
985	1249	1063	1268	1141	251	1219		1283		1361	337
986	1258	1064	1275	1142	259	1220		1284		1362	
987	1280	1065	1281	1143	323	1221		1285		1363	
988	1291	1066	1287	1144	273	1222		1286		1364	
989	1200	1067	1203	1145	226	1223		1287		1365	
990	1269	1068	1220	1146	227	1224		1288		1366	
991	1288	1069	1273	1147	250	1225		1289		1367	41
992		1070	1286	1148	321	1226		1290		1368	178
993	1261	1071	3	1149	324	1227		1291		1369	1553
994	1272	1072	4	1150	330	1228		1292		1370	1293
995	1284	1073	1547	1151	29	1229		1293		1371	54

Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.
1372	55	1448	1329	1525		1602	1374	1680	1423	1758	
1373	234	1449	1624	1526		1603	1505	1681	1449	1759	1517
1374	235	1450	18	1527		1604	1377	1682	1452	1760	1513
1375	19	1451	1569	1528	1667	1605	1375	1683	1369	1761	
	1771	1452	1614	1529		1606	1387	1684	1444	1762	1512
1376	20	1453		1530		1607	1402	1685	1497	1763	1515
1377	1552	1454	1621	1531		1608	1403	1686	1379	1764	1516
1378	1554	1455	197	1532		1609	1350	1687	1361	1765	
1379		1456	1619	1533		1610	1412	1688	1371	1766	
1380	1664	1457	1612	1534		1611	1415	1689	1380	1767	
1381	1638	1458	1622	1535	198	1612	1417	1690	1424	1768	1625
1382		1459	1623	1536		1613	1422	1691	1363	1769	1592
1383	1616	1460	15	1537		1614	1428	1692	1385	1770	
1384	17	1461	1324	1538		1615	1446	1693	1411	1771	
1385	44	1462	1325	1539	1666	1616	1447	1694	1420	1772	
1386	45	1463		1540	1626	1617	1448	1695	1421	1773	
1387	1623	1464	193	1541	1601	1618	1455	1696	1366	1774	
1388	210	1465	194	1542		1619	1466	1697	1382	1775	
	1665	1466		1543		1620	1475	1698	1451	1776	
1389	212	1467	1677	1544		1621	1461	1699	1464	1777	
1390	211	1468	1686	1545		1622	1481	1700	1477	1778	
1391	1617	1469	199	1546	1673	1623	1492	1701	1349	1779	
1392		1470	1602	1547		1624	1493	1702	1394	1780	
1393	16	1471		1548		1625	1499	1703	1407	1781	
1394	238		1675	1549		1626	1355	1704	1351	1782	
1395		1472	1676	1550		1627	1458	1705	1431	1783	
1396	179	1473		1551		1628	1463	1706	1459	1784	
1397	201	1474		1552		1629	1471	1707	1472	1785	
1398	180	1475		1553		1630	1480	1708	1474	1786	
1399	1328	1476		1554		1631	1484	1709	1486	1787	1808
1400	1327	1477		1555		1632	1430	1710	1388	1788	
1401		1478	1670	1556		1633	1489	1711	1488	1789	
1402	14	1479		1557		1634	1354	1712	1483	1790	
1403	1615	1480		1558		1635	1358	1713	1445	1791	
1404	1613	1481		1559		1636	1362	1714	1494	1792	
1405		1482		1560	1627 to	1637	1373	1715	1357	1793	
1406	1620	1483			1635	1638	1383	1716	1360	1794	
1407	1618	1484		1561	1668	1639	1389	1717	1370	1795	
1408	1598	1485		1562		1640	1399	1718	1347	1796	
1409	1663	1486		1563		1641	1400	1719	1395	1797	
1410	1662	1487		1564	200	1642	1413	1720	1396	1798	
1411	1566	1488	192	1565		1643	1418	1721	1397	1799	
1412	181	1489		1566		1644	1419	1722	1398	1800	
1413	182	1490	1671	1567		1645	1345	1723	1404	1801	
1414	183	1491		1568		1646	1425	1724	1406	1802	
1415	184	1492	1637	1569	1599	1647	1436	1725	1410	1803	
1416	185	1493		1570		1648	1443	1726	1434	1804	
1417	1294	1494		1571		1649	1454	1727	1435	1805	
1418	1295	1495		1572	1590	1650	1469	1728	1453	1806	
1419	1296	1496		1573		1651	1470	1729	1462	1807	
1420	1297	1497		1574	1636	1652	1502	1730	1473	1808	
1421	1298	1498		1575		1653	1384	1731	1478	1809	
1422	1299	1499		1576	1679	1654	1427	1732	1482	1810	
1423	1300	1500		1577		1655	1429	1733	1487	1811	
1424	1301	1501		1578	208	1656	1441	1734	1491	1812	
1425	1302	1502		1579		1657	1468	1735	1501	1813	
1426	1303	1503		1580		1658	1386	1736	1352	1814	
1427	1304	1504		1581	1334	1659	1433	1737	1504	1815	
1428	1306	1505		1582	1335	1660	1381	1738	1375	1816	
1429	1305	1506		1583		1661	1392	1739	1376	1817	
1430	1307	1507		1584		1662	1348	1740	1390	1818	
1431	1308	1508		1585		1663	1405	1741	1391	1819	
1432	1309	1509		1586		1664	1414	1742	1393	1820	
1433	1310	1510		1587		1665	1426	1743	1438	1821	
1434	1311	1511		1588	1340	1666	1432	1744	1476	1822	
1435	1312	1512		1589		1667	1437	1745	1485	1823	
1436	1545	1513	1678	1690		1668	1442	1746	1490	1824	
1437	1313	1514		1591	1611	1669	1456	1747	1495	1825	
1438	1314	1515		1592		1670	1460	1748	1496	1826	
1439	1315	1516		1593	1600	1671	1465	1749	1353	1827	
1440	1317	1517		1594	1365	1672	1467	1750		1828	
1441	1316	1518	1674	1595	1408	1673	1479	1751	1401	1829	
1442	1318	1519	1672	1596	1451	1674	1498	1752	1457	1830	
1443	1319	1520		1597	1356	1675	1500	1753	1346	1831	
1444	1320	1521		1598	1359	1676	1503	1754	1439	1832	
1445	1321	1522	1606	1599	1364	1677	1372	1755	1440	1833	
1446	1322	1523		1600	1367	1678	1409	1756	1647	1834	
1447	1332	1524		1601	1368	1679	1416	1757		1835	

Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.	Old Tauzi No.	New Tauzi No.
1836		1854		1872		1890		1908		1926	
1837		1855		1873		1891		1909		1927	
1838		1856		1874		1892		1910		1928	
1839		1857		1875		1893		1911		1929	
1840		1858		1876		1894		1912		1930	
1841		1859		1877		1895		1913		1931	
1842		1860		1878		1896		1914		1932	
1843		1861		1879		1897		1915		1933	
1844		1862		1880		1898		1916		1934	
1845		1863		1881		1899		1917		1935	
1846		1864		1882		1900		1918		1936	
1847		1865		1883		1901		1919		1937	
1848		1866		1884		1902		1920		1938	
1849		1867		1885		1903		1921		1939	
1850		1868		1886		1904		1922		1940	
1851		1869		1887		1905		1923		1941	
1852		1870		1888		1906		1924		1942	
1853		1871		1889		1907		1925		1943	



सत्यमेव जयते

## APPENDIX VI(a).

## List of Important Notifications.

Act.	Reference to Notification.	Nature.
Bengal Survey Act (V of 1875), section 3.	No. 2640T.R., dated October 11, 1913.	Extends Survey Operation to the district except the lands comprised in Roshnābād Estate.
Bengal Tenancy Act (VII of 1885), section 101(1).	No. 2639T.R., dated October 11, 1913.	Sanctions preparation of record-of-rights of the district.
Bengal Tenancy Act (VIII of 1885), section 101 (2)(a).	No. 10540L.R., dated November 10, 1914.	Sanctions survey and preparation of record-of-rights of Feni river block.
Act IX of 1847, section 3 ...	No. 8580L.R., dated August 30, 1915.	Sanctions <i>Diara</i> Operation.
Bengal Tenancy Act (VIII of 1885), section 3(10)(b).	No. 1361L.R., dated February 9, 1917.	Adopts settlement villages as defining villages within the meaning of the Act.

## Notification of Powers of Settlement Officer, W. H. Thompson, Esq., I.C.S.

Bengal Tenancy Act (VIII of 1885) and rules under the Act.	No. 1024T.R., dated October 5, 1914. No. 2838L.R., dated March 12, 1915.	Powers as Revenue Officer and Settlement Officer.
Bengal Tenancy Act (VIII of 1885), section 58.	No. 1025T.R., dated October 5, 1914.	Powers of a Collector
Regulation VII of 1822 ... " IX ,, 1825 ... " III ,, 1828 ... " IX ,, 1833 ...	... } No. 389T.R., dated May 18, 1916.	
Cess Act (IX of 1880) ...	No. 1682T.R., dated October 23, 1915.	Powers of a Collector under Chapters II, IV, VII of Act IX of 1880.
Bengal Tenancy Act (VIII of 1885), section 108A.	No. 1026T.R., dated October 5, 1914.	Powers under section 108A of Act VIII of 1885.
Bengal Tenancy Act (VIII of 1885), section 108.	No. 3444L.R., dated April 9, 1918.	Powers under section 108 of Act VIII of 1885.

## Notification of Special Power of Assistant Settlement Officer.

Bengal Tenancy Act (VIII of 1885), section 108A.	No. 7579L.R., dated September 16, 1918.	Maulvi Abdul Jalil Khan vested with the powers under section 108A of Act VIII of 1885.
Public Demands Recovery Act (III of 1913).	Commissioner's No. 174R-IX-4, dated January 18, 1917.	Maulvi Abdul Jalil Khan vested with powers under section 3(3) of Act III of 1913.

## APPENDIX VI (b).

**Detailed Notification under section 101 (1), Bengal Tenancy Act, defining Excluded Area.**

No. 827 L.R.—The 23rd January 1919.—In the Government Notification No. 2639 T.R., dated the 11th October 1913, under section 101 (1) of the Bengal Tenancy Act, 1885 (VIII of 1885), published at page 1596, Part I, of the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 15th idem, regarding the survey and preparation of a record-of-rights within the districts of Tippera and Noakhali,—

Tippera.  
Noakhali.

Cancel the words "Except the lands comprised in Estate Roshnābād, bearing *Tauzi* No. 252 of the Tippera Collectorate" and *insert* in their place—

(1) Except for so much of the lands comprised in Estate Roshnābād, bearing *Tauzi* No. 252 of the Tippera Collectorate, for which a record-of-rights was prepared in accordance with Government Notifications No. 4157 L.R., dated the 29th November 1892, and No. 1108 L.R., dated the 27th February 1894, read with No. 2085 L.R., dated the 16th April 1894, and finally published, and

(2) Except the lands of the estates of Noakhali mentioned in Schedule below of which records-of-rights were prepared under notifications noted against each, and also—

*Schedule.*

Estate No.	Name of Estate.	Already surveyed and record-of-rights prepared under Notification.
1560	Char Khandakar ...	No. 192C., dated 7th January 1907.
1565	" Shahabdhikari ...	" 160R., dated 23rd January 1911.
1586	Thak Khoazer Lamchi ...	" 161R., dated 23rd January 1911.
1599	Char Ramnarayan ...	" 192C., dated 7th January 1907.
1603	" Ghinadhopa ...	" 33R., dated 5th January 1912.
1612	Zimbe Saiyed Akbar ...	" 2146R., dated 18th September 1908.
1664	Char Dighi Khal Bharati ...	" 228C., dated 8th January 1906.
1759	" Bayley ...	" 2555L.R., dated 12th October 1912.
1770	" Jubilee ...	" 283R., dated 14th February 1910.
1783	" Bose ...	" 33R., dated 5th January 1912.
1787	Thak Bouria ...	" 283R., dated 14th February 1910.
1788	" Kachiafar ...	" 2146R., dated 18th September 1908.
1789	" Dirgafar ...	" 160R., dated 23rd January 1911.
1549	Char Fakira ...	" 33R., dated 5th January 1912.
1585	Thak Darbesh ...	" 2555L.R., dated 12th October 1912.
1772	" Do. ...	" 2146R., dated 18th September 1908.
1578	" Hasan Hossain ...	" 2555L.R., dated 12th October 1912.
1587	Chakla Banchanagar ...	" 192C., dated 7th January 1907.
1637	Char Goshain ...	" 2555L.R., dated 12th October 1912.
1647	" King ...	" 223L.R., dated 16th January 1903.
1671	" Gazi ...	" 223L.R., dated 16th January 1903.
1673	" Bharat Sen ...	" 223L.R., dated 16th January 1903.
1676	" Iswar Ray, Part I. ...	" 223L.R., dated 16th January 1903.
1686	" Alexander "	" 223L.R., dated 16th January 1903.
1942	" Falcon ...	Included in Bakarganj District Operations.
1552	" Palwan ...	" 160R., dated 23rd January 1911.
1553	" Balammara ...	" 160R., dated 23rd January 1911.
1554	" Toon ...	" 160R., dated 23rd January 1911.
1637	" Mehar ...	" 34R., dated 5th January 1912.
1677	" Amānullā ...	" 2554L.R., dated 12th October 1912.
210 & 16	Chakla Niz Sandwip ...	" 226T.R., dated 16th May 1901.
		" 227T.R., dated 16th May 1901.
		" 2104T.R., dated 26th September 1902.
		" 3692L.R., dated 7th December 1903.
		" 1326C., dated 28th November 1905.
		" 190C., dated 7th January 1907.
		" 1108L.R., dated 27th February 1894.
13, 1342, } 209, 202, } 203, 12 }	Pargana Dāndrā	" 2988T.R., dated 31st October 1904.

M. C. McALPIN,

Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

## APPENDIX VI (o).

## GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL.

## REVENUE DEPARTMENT.

## Land Revenue Branch.

No. 585 T. R.

## Apportionment Order.

*Darjeeling, the 19th May, 1917.*

Under section 114 of the Bengal Tenancy Act (Act VIII of 1885) the Governor-in-Council directs that the landlords' and tenants' share of the cost of the survey and preparation of the record-of-rights in the district of Noakhali undertaken under Notification No. 2639T.R., dated the 11th October 1913, including the estimated cost of maintaining boundary marks for a period of 15 years shall be apportioned and recovered in accordance with the following rules:—

- (1) *Raiyats* shall pay at the rate of twice the difference between the cess payable and that recoverable, if any, by each *raiya*t, as calculated under Notification No. 1679T.R., dated the 23rd October 1915.
- (2) Proprietors and permanent tenure-holders shall pay at the rate of four times such difference.
- (3) Temporary tenure-holders whose lease has more than 15 years to run from the end of the Bengali year 1324 or who are tenure-holders for life shall pay in accordance with rule (2).
- (4) Temporary tenure-holders whose lease has 15 years to run from the end of the Bengali year 1324 shall pay  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the amount which would be payable if they came under rule (2), and so on proportionately according to the number of years the lease has to run. The deficiency by which the amount so payable falls short of that which would be payable if they came under rule (2) shall be paid by their landlords.
- (5) Under-*raiya*ts of all classes shall pay at the rate of four annas for each tenancy.
- (6) The cess of a rent-free holder shall for the purpose of this apportionment order be calculated as if he were a rent-paying landlord, tenant or occupant.
- (7) Where a revaluation of cess is not being made under the aforesaid Government Notification the costs shall be apportioned and recovered in accordance with the above rules as if a revaluation of cess were being made.

*Minimum Charges—*

- (8) There shall be a minimum charge of four annas in respect of each tenancy.
- (9) Payments of less than Rs. 10 shall be made in multiples of four annas, broken parts of four annas being charged as four annas.
- (10) In payments of more than Rs. 10, broken parts of a rupee shall be charged as a full rupee.
- (11) In areas in which a settlement of land revenue is being or is about to be made no charge will be made against landlords and tenants.

*Explanation—*

For the purpose of this order, the word "*raiya*t" includes a cultivating tenant who has been recorded as a "*tenure-holder by custom*"; it also includes a person who has been recorded as an *occupant*.

L. BIRLEY,

*Secretary to the Government of Bengal.*

## APPENDIX VII.

## Rules for Cess Revaluation and Forms.

## Cess Rules.

The cess revaluation of the district of Noakhali is to be done at the hands of the Settlement Department on the basis of the draft record-of-rights.

## Stage A.

1. The only step that is to be taken from attestation camps is the issue of the notices prescribed by section 17 of the Cess Act (IX of 1880). The forms to be used (which will be sent out to attestation camps as soon as they come from the Press) are :—

1. Firisti.
2. Order sheet.
3. Notice under section 17.
4. Explanatory notice of which the lower portion can be torn off and sent back in lieu of a return.
5. Special notice in reference to "foreign lands".
6. Specimen of return form to be used.
7. Peons' return of service of notice.
8. Schedule of notices.

2. Notices under section 17 of the Cess Act will be written up for all holdings or tenures having a rent of Rs. 100 or more and all rent-free tenures with an annual value of Rs. 100 or more (this may be taken as certain to include all rent-free holdings of more than 100 bighas or having a *sthit* of more than Rs. 100).

3. The notices will be written up by a *muharrir* before attestation of each village. He will fill up the names of the persons on whom the notice is to be served in forms (3), (4), (5) and (7) above and enter the name also in form (8). One of each form (3), (4), (5) and (6) will be attached together for service on the same person. A separate page of the schedule form (8) will be used for each *tauzi* in each *mauza*. After the notices have been written up and attestation begins the Attestation Officer will cause the notices to be served on the persons to whom they are addressed (or their agents) as the latter come up to have their *khatidans* attested. They will then and there sign the return and the Attestation Officer should make a point of explaining the matter to them and getting them to tear off and sign the slip at the bottom of the explanatory notice and return it. The form of peons' return will be entered up by the peon or *muharrir* who is attending on the Attestation Officer at the time and at the end of the day the peons' returns will be attached to the schedule. When slips are returned or any return sent in, they will be filed with the schedule on which the date of return will also be entered.

4. There will be one order sheet only for each *tauzi* in each circle. When attestation of a *mauza* is complete the schedules, peons' returns, such slips as have been returned and such returns as have been filed for each *tauzi* will be separated and filed carefully along with the order sheets so that at the end of the season the Attestation Officer will have in his record box a file for each *tauzi* that has appeared in his circle containing a firisti and order sheet, a schedule for each village in which the estate has land in his circle, peons' returns forms, slips and such returns as have been filed.

5. Attestation Officers are particularly requested to do their best to explain matters and induce people to file the slips on the spot at attestation, as a great deal of time is saved in that way and it is a great pity to waste time in service of notices in the mufassal and to spend more money than can be helped on what is a purely formal matter. They are also requested to see that all the papers are systematically and carefully filed. The matter being a formal one and not an essential part of the work of the camp, it is one that is liable to escape notice and be badly done unless the Attestation Officer looks into it regularly.

6. In deciding whether to serve a notice on a rent-free holder it is not necessary to make any elaborate calculation to find whether the *sthit* will come to Rs. 100 or not. In case of any doubt it is less trouble to write up the notice and have it served. Accordingly, notices should be issued for all rent-free tenures which appear to be large or important. Notices will not be served in estates where *jamabandi* will be done as cess calculation will be made after the *jamabandi* is complete.

## Stage B.

1. Stage A of Cess Revaluation consists of calling for returns by notices under section 17 of the Cess Act and filing them.

2. In attestation camps nothing further is to be done, but the Attestation *Janch* Form which forms the basis of Cess Revaluation work is written up as part of attestation *janch*. Cess has been calculated by the Attestation Officers and entered in the draft record-of-rights for all *raiyati* and *kol-raiyati* holdings of which no portion has been sublet. Stage B consists of the calculation in the case of all the remaining *raiyati* and *kol-raiyati*



holdings and the holdings which have been recorded as "tenures by custom" and excluded from the tenure tree. Thus, when stage B is finished the calculation of the valuation and cess will be complete for all interests except such as appear in the tenure trees.

3. When objections are complete, the results have been tamilled in the attestation *jānch* form as well as into the record, and final *jānch* has been done, this stage of cess revaluation will be taken up.

4. According to the Cess Act a *raiya* holding is one of which no part has been sublet. The annual value of such a holding is its rent. All other holdings are treated as tenures for the purpose of cess revaluation. But in view of the small increase of cess which would accrue and the large increase in costs which are involved, and these not only in calculation but because the possessor of every holding is to be included in the Valuation Roll and served with a copy of an extract of so much of the roll as refers to his holding, it is not contemplated to value *raiya* or *kol-raiya* holdings (according to the Tenancy Act) as tenures unless the area sublet brings in a rent of Rs. 5. This limit is that to which the Collector in making a revaluation of cess is ordered to go with his tenure valuations under Rule 55 of the Board's Rules under the Act.

5. The following will be the method of valuation :—

(a) *Raiyats and under-raiyats, cash paying, who have not sublet more of their land than brings in a rent of Rs. 5 when no barāt reference is shown in the jānch form.*—Their rent is their valuation. The cess has already been calculated by the Attestation Officer and in most of these cases it is not necessary to do it again. In cases where cess has not been entered in the record the cess *muharrir* will calculate and enter it. A ring will be put in the Attestation *Jānch* Form round the rent and only horizontal dashes placed in the column of the form for valuation and cess.

(b) *Raiyats and under-raiyats, khajana jogya, who have not sublet more than brings them in a rent of Rs. 5 and against whom no barāt reference is shown.*—Value the total area at the average *raiya* rate prevailing in the locality, enter the valuation in column 9 of the Attestation *Jānch* Form and fill in the cess column at the rate of half-anna per rupee of the valuation.

(c) *Raiyats and under-raiyats, rent-free or chākrāndārs, who have not sublet more than brings them in a rent of Rs. 5 and against whom no barāt reference is shown.*—Value as (b) but enter cess at one-anna in the rupee.

(d) *Raiyats and under-raiyats, Bargā and Dhānyakārari (there are very few).*—Enter valuation at Rs. 6-4 per acre but add no cess, for the *bargādar* pays nothing over and above half the produce which includes all that is due from him to his landlord.

(e) *Raiyats and under-raiyats with barāt reference (barāt khatīāns).*—No valuation will be entered. A dash (—) in the valuation column is all that is necessary.

(f) *Raiyats and under-raiyats with barāt references (rent khatīān).*—The barāt reference will be compared in the Attestation *Jānch* Forms. If it is found that the whole area has been sublet which brings in less than Rs. 5 the rent will be taken as the valuation and entered in the valuation column against the rent *khatīān* as in (a). If it is found that part of the holding is sublet which brings in a rent of Rs. 5 or over the valuation will be worked out as in the case next following.

(g) *Raiyats and under-raiyats who have sublet an area bringing a rent of Rs. 5 or over.*—The value of the *khās dakhāl* area shown as "*dakhaliya*" column will be calculated at the average *raiya* rate, added to the valuation shown against the immediately subordinate *khatīāns* which will have been already filled into the Attestation *Jānch* Form and entered in the column for valuation of this *khatīān*. Enter cess at one-anna in the rupee on the figure in the valuation column less half-anna the rupee on the rent paid to the landlord.

(h) *Raiyats and under-raiyats, rent free or chākrāndārs, who have sublet an area which brings them in a rent of Rs. 5 or over.*—Value as (g) but enter cess at one-anna in the rupee of the valuation.

There are no *chaukidāri* lands in Noakhali which will come under the provisions of section 41 of the Act.

(i) *Holdings recorded as tenures by custom.*—These will always be treated as cess tenures whether any land has been sublet or not. Value and calculate cess as (g).

6. In addition to work of valuation of *raiya*s, *kol-raiya*s and tenures by custom the calculation will at this stage B be made of valuation of *nijdakhāl* lands of tenures and estates which have been included in the tenure trees. The valuation of the *nijdakhāl* area shown as "fit for possession" in column 3 in the *Jānch* Form will be calculated at the average *raiya* rate of the locality. The valuation of that shown as "not fit for possession" in column 4 will be calculated at the lowest *raiya* rate in the locality.

7. Cess of *raiya* and *kol-raiya* holdings and of those holdings recorded as "tenures by custom" will be entered in the record as well as in the Attestation *Jānch* Form in the *jānch* camps. It has already been done in the case of most of those *khatīāns* for which a ring has been put round the rent in *Jānch* Form and need not be checked again. The Revenue Officers and *Kānungos* supervising *jānch* in the camps will check 5 per cent. of the valuations of *khās dakhāl* lands of superior tenures. The progress of the work will be shown in the register of final *jānch* which will be kept by the *Peshkār* (*vide* rules for final *jānch*).

#### Stage C.

1. Stage B carries the work as far as it goes in the objection camps. The *Jānch* Form has been completed. The valuation of the *khās* land of every interest has been

entered in the form and the total valuation and cess calculated for all interests shown in the record-of-rights as *kol-raiyati*, *raiyati* and holdings found to be "tenures by custom". The total valuation and cess of such have been entered in the *Jānch* Form and in the Record.

2. There remains the calculation of total valuation and of cess for tenures which have been shown in the tenure tree whether they are recurring tenures or non-recurring. This work will be done in *Sadar* in the Cess Branch. This work will be taken up *thana-wār* as a rule, unless the officer in charge in order to finish off an estate wishes to take a particular *mauza* up out of turn. At this stage the record itself will not go to the Cess Branch. Only the *Jānch* Form and the *mauza* tenure tree will be sent into the branch.

3. From the *Jānch* Form, for every tenure included in the tenure tree, i.e., for every tenure for which there is no entry in column 11 of the Attestation *Jānch* Form as it comes from the objection camp, a register will be written up in the form Cess Register of Tenures A.

4. A separate page of this register will be used for every tenure or share of a tenure which has a separate *khatīān*. A separate page will not be opened for every share distinguished by a collection letter, but one will be opened for a separate collection letter in cases where that separate letter has separate tenures under it in the tenure tree.

5. After the heading has been filled up, in column (1) of the form will be entered the numbers of all the immediately subordinate *khatīāns* followed in column 2 by the rent and in columns (3), (4), (5) or (6) by the valuation taken from the *Jānch* Form. There will only be an entry in one of these 4 columns corresponding to each entry in column (1). It is to be noted that the entry will be made in column (3) if the subordinate *khatīān* is that of an interest which has been treated as a *raiyati* according to the Cess Act, i.e., if the rent has been taken as the valuation (2) (it will include all *raiyatis* or *kol-raiyatis* of which an area has not been sublet which brings in a rent of Rs. 5 or more). The entry will be made in column 5 if the holding is a rent-free one of which an area has not been sublet which brings in a rent of Rs. 5 or more. The entry in column 7 will usually be the same all the way down the register, but there may be a few *khatīāns* where the share is not the same as for the rest. The totals for columns (3), (4), (5) and (6) so far as the share is not divergent will be struck and then the columns (8), (9), (10), (12) and (13) filled up from those totals and in the same line with them. When all the entries in the form are complete columns (8), (9), (10), (11) and (12) will be added up. Where two tenures for which separate C. R. T. A. forms are being prepared cover the same or almost the same set of immediately subordinate interests, it is unnecessary to fill in columns (2), (3), (4), (5) and (6) again in detail. After column (1) has been filled in, the words *etanang khatīāner C. R. T. A. drastabya* may be written across columns (2), (3), (4), (5) and (6) and merely the totals of those columns entered and the form completed in that way.

6. When C. R. T. A. has been finished the pages of it, the *Jānch* Form and *mauza* tenure trees will be separated estate by estate, each being tied round with a piece of string and having a slip of plain paper on them showing clearly :—

*Tauzi* number.

*Mauza* name and number.

*Thana*.

7. So far all the work has been taken up *mauzawār*. The *Peshkār* in charge of the branch will keep for each *thana* a *mauzawār* register of progress in the form :—

*Thana*

<i>Mauza</i> name.	Number.	<i>Tauzis</i> included in the <i>mauza</i> .	Date of beginning C. R. T. A.	Name of <i>Muharrir</i> .	Date of completion.	Signature of <i>Peshkār</i> .
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

8. At the next stage the work has to be done *tauziwār* instead of *mauzawār*. When the *Peshkār* enters a *mauza* as complete in C. R. T. A. in the above register he will take the bundles, which have been made up one for each *tauzi* in the *mauza* by the *muharrirs*, and arrange them on one series of shelves with the bundles of other *mauzas tauzi* by *tauzi*, marking off the completed *mauzas* in the *mahāl-wār* list of *mauzas* against each estate in that list.

9. The *tauziwār* files of bundles on these shelves will be made over to picked *muharrirs*, in the case of small estates when the *mahāl-wār* list shows that all the *mauzas* containing the estate have had C. R. T. A. completed. But in cases of large estates it will be necessary to make the file of bundles over to one of the picked *muharrirs* before all the *mauzas* are complete, for he will be able to dispose of the cess calculation for most of the inferior *ekwāls* without waiting for the bundles from all *mauzas* in which the estate has land. Most of the inferior *ekwāls* extend only to a few adjacent *mauzas*.

10. This *muharrir* will be given, as well as the file of bundles just mentioned, the standard tenure tree, the *Ekwāl* Register and the Note of the Attestation Officers explaining what compartments of the top grade of the tenure tree correspond with what separate accounts for payment of land revenue in the Collectorate. His duty is to calculate the total valuation and the cess for recurring tenures, and to put such information down on the Cess Register of Tenures A as will enable the *muharrir* at the next stage to check also the *barāt* references in the record-of-rights. With the help of the *Ekwāl* Register the figures in columns (8), (9), (10), (11) and (12) of C. R. T. A. for each recurring tenure will be entered in columns (3), (4), (5), (6) and (7) of C. R. T. B. form and a total struck in each of these columns. The Abstract Form requires no explanation. Cess is calculated at one-anna in the rupee on the figure in column (7), which is the total valuation *plus* half the valuation of immediately subordinate rent-free holdings or tenures less half the rent or revenue. One abstract is written for each estate or tenure. The only exception is that each separate account for an estate must have a separate abstract.

11. The *muharrir* will also write on the C. R. T. A. form on a non-recurring *ekwāl* in the heading after the rent the words *ek mauza bhuktā*; in the heading of a C. R. T. A. form for a recurring tenure in a *mauza* where the rent is not recorded the correct *barāt* reference giving name of *mauza* and number, *thana*, and number of the *khatīān* in which the rent is recorded; and in the heading of a C. R. T. A. form for a recurring tenure in the *mauza* where rent is recorded the word "recurring" after the rent.

12. The same *muharrir* has to write out the cess abstract. In the case of non-recurring tenures he does this from the C. R. T. A. form at once and pins the abstract form beneath the C. R. T. A. in question. In the case of recurring tenures he fills it up from the C. R. T. B. and pins it and the C. R. T. B. beneath the C. R. T. A. for the *mauza* where rent is recorded.

13. After completing the abstracts and attaching them to the C. R. T. A. forms as indicated above, the *muharrir* will tie up the bundles again just as he received them and make them over again to the *Peshkār*. The latter when he receives them will tick the bundles off in column 3 of his register (section 7 above) placing beneath each *tauzi* entered therein the date of getting the bundles back with cess calculation complete. When all the *tauzi* numbers in column 3 for a particular *mauza* have been ticked off it is time for the *mauza* record to be taken out of the record room and the work of stage D begun.

14. Although revaluation, of an estate is not finished completely, the *muharrir* who is writing up C. R. T. B. form and the abstract will return to the *Peshkār* the bundles of any *mauzas* for which he has completed the abstracts for every tenure whose rent is recorded in that *mauza* and entered the figures for others in the C. R. T. B. form of the top grade which he will retain with him for the time being. Such *mauzas* can go into stage D without waiting for the completion of C. R. T. B. for the top grade of the tenure tree and the abstract for the *mauza* where the revenue of the estate or rent of any very large tenure has been recorded. The only *mauzas* which *must* remain with the *muharrir* are those in which the revenue of the estate or rent of some large tenure not yet completed have been recorded. These must remain with him until he has completed the abstract for such estate or tenure.

15. There are complications in stage C requiring special mention, which arise (a) from cases where there are *hāts* or *bazārs* which are valued upon information not contained in the record-of-rights, (b) from cases in which separate accounts have been opened in the Collectorate which do not correspond with the division of the estate into blocks, (c) from part of the land of an estate being outside the district of Noakhali, (d) in writing up the abstract for estates partly diluviated (in the case of these the cess will be one-anna on the valuation less half-anna on the proportional amount of the revenue corresponding to the undiluviated portion of the estate). Each of these complications is dealt with in a separate paragraph below:—

(a) *Valuation of hāts and bazārs*.—A general order was issued to the Attestation Officer and the Objection Officers to issue notices, make enquiries and prepare valuation statements of *hāts* and *bazārs*. The results of their findings will be found filed with the Attestation *Jānch* Form. The total valuation will be transcribed by the *muharrir* who writes up C. R. T. A. Form into the remark column of the form, giving only the name of the *hāt* and the annual value. This will be transcribed into the remark column of superior tenures or estates and into C. R. T. B. form also in the remark column. When the abstract is written up the annual value will be entered in the column headed *anyānya*.

(b) *Separate accounts*.—When a separate account has been opened by a co-sharer in an estate in the *Tauzi* Department of the Collectorate for the payment of land revenue, he is entitled also to pay cess by a separate account and to a separate assessment of cess. Separate notices under section 17 have already been issued and separate returns called for. A separate valuation roll has to be written for him including all the tenures under his share. Attestation Officers will have supplied information as to what compartments or share of compartments in the top grade of the tenure tree correspond to each separate account. There must be a separate abstract for each separate account, and not only that but a note must be made on the abstract of every inferior tenure, noting under which separate account of the estate that tenures fall. This note will be written below the figures in the Abstract Form. When the tenure falls sixteen annas under one separate account of the estate the entry will be—*eta nang S.A. madhye*; when the tenure falls under more than one separate account, the entry will be for example thus—*eta nang S.A. madhye 12 anna, eta nang S.A. madhye 4 anna*. When there are no separate

accounts in the estate the entry *S.A. nai* will be put in every abstract written up for a tenure under the estate. These notes on the abstract forms are necessary to enable the roll-writing *muharrirs* in stage D to write up the separate rolls which are necessary for each separate account.

(c) *Foreign lands*.—Enquiries will be made in *Sadar* as to which estate of the Noakhali *Tauzi* Roll contain land in other districts. Such land may be found either in Bakarganj or in Tippera. If the landlords after being served with the notice under section 17 have not filed a return but preferred the settlement record and the foreign land in question is in Bakarganj or in B Block of Tippera, the valuation will be made from the settlement records of Bakarganj or Tippera. If the land is in D Block of Tippera and if no returns have been filed after the notice issued from attestation camps, special notices will again be served from *Sadar* and the landlords required to file returns on which valuation will be made.

(d) *Partly diluviated estates*.—Enquiries have been made to discover the proportionate revenue for existing land of an estate which has been partly diluviated. The result of these enquiries has been sent to the *Peshkār* in charge of the Cess Branch.

#### Stage D.

1. Cess has been calculated in attestation and stages B and C of the revaluation work for all grades of interests. Proposals have been sanctioned to realise the settlement costs of Noakhali at a multiple of the cess which each man pays out of his own pocket. The multiple is 4 for landlords and 2 for tenants. The costs will be calculated on the formula 2 or 4 times [valuation of *niz dakhāl* land +  $\frac{1}{2}$  rent in *sthit* -  $\frac{1}{2}$  own rent (or revenue)] and a calculation slip has been printed to assist in this calculation.

What remains to be done is to write up :—

- (1) The Demand Register.
- (2) The Schedule of Demands.
- (3) Receipts for settlement costs and counterfoils.
- (4) The Cess Roll, public copy and office copy.
- (5) Cess Extracts.
- (6) Cess Notices under section 40.

To enter—

- (7) Cess in the record where it has not yet been entered.

And to check—

- (8) *Barāt* references in the record from the information given in the cess forms.

2. The work has been arranged so far in such a way that up to the present it has not been necessary to turn over the record itself. At this stage the work will be done so that the record has to be turned over *once* only.

3. The work will be taken up by a *muharrir* who will take the cess bundle (*Jānch* Form C. R. T's. and Abstracts as arranged in stage C) for one *mauza* and the final record of that *mauza*. He will turn over the *mauza* from the front and fill up the Demand Register Form, in which he will write *khatīān* number, *muddāfat* of tenancy, *dakhalkār* and address. The name of first *dakhalkār* only will be entered with "etc." after it if there are others. The father's name of the first *dakhalkār* will be given as well as his address.

Thus :—Tāluk Rām Chandra Dās,

Kālī Kumār Chakrabarti, son of Rāj Kumār Chakrabarti, Rājārāmpur.

4. In the case of all temporary tenures the *muharrir* will note the date on which the tenures expire in the remark column of the Demand Register. In the case of *barāt khatīāns* there will be no entry in the Demand Register except in the *mauza* where rent is recorded. He will at the same time fill into the cess column in the record the cess shown in the cess abstract for all tenures which are included in the tenure tree, and correct the *barāt* reference from the information entered in the C. R. T. A. forms for that purpose. When he has finished this, the final record is absolutely complete and need not be touched again. All the other forms can now be filled up by means of the cess bundle for the *mauza* and the Demand Register.

5. Another *muharrir* taking the cess bundle and Demand Register will calculate the demand. In the case of under-*raiyats* the demand is 4 annas. In the case of all *raiyatis*, of which more land has not been sublet than brings in an income of Rs. 5 per year, the rent has been taken as the valuation and the demand is twice the cess calculated on that basis. The use of the demand calculation slip is unnecessary. In the case of other holdings and tenures the calculation slip will be filled up from the *Jānch* Form and the C. R. T., and after calculation is complete the Demand Registers will be filled in. In filling in the demand the following is to be observed :—

(a) When the demand is more than Rs. 10, parts of a rupee will be treated as whole rupees.

(b) When the demand is less than Rs. 10, parts of 4 annas will be treated as 4 annas which will thus be the minimum charge.

(c) The demand from each holding at produce-rent and for each under-*raiyati* holding will be 4 annas.

(d) In the case of temporary tenures which expire by the end of 1324 B.S., the whole demand of such tenures will be transferred to the immediate landlord. In the case of temporary tenures which expire by the end of 1325 B.S.,  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the demand will be transferred to the immediate landlord; in the case of temporary tenures which expire by the end of 1326 B.S.,  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the demand will be transferred to the immediate landlord, and so on. When the demand is being calculated one single demand will be set against each *khatiān* in which a rent is recorded. If any demands are subsequently realized in parts from separate co-sharers who have separate collecting establishments, the division will be made on the basis of the recorded shares by the Recovery Officer in the recovery camp on the joint-petition of the parties concerned. After the Demand Register is complete, the same *muharrir* will copy out the necessary columns of it into the Schedule of Demands and write up receipt forms for each demand in the receipt books.

6. The branch will be in charge of a *Peshkār* with an Assistant *Peshkār* whose whole time will be employed in checking calculation of cess and demand. The Assistant *Peshkār's* business will be to take each *mauza* file as it comes from the *muharrir* who calculates the demand and check the calculation of the cess and demand of 10 per cent. of the *khutiāns*. Each day the H. Q. A. S. O. will give him one of the numbers from 0 to 9 and he will check the calculation, starting from the *Jānch* Form, through all the stages to the demand for all *khatiāns* whose number ends with the figure chosen. There will be an automatic fine of one pice for each mistake. The Assistant *Peshkār* will write up a mistake list thus :—

<i>Mauza</i> name and No.	<i>Tauzi</i> No.	Mistake, in stage B.	Mistake in C. R. T. A.	Mistake in C. R. T. B. or Abstract.	Mistake in stage D.
1	2	3	4	5	6

At the end of the day the mistake list will be compared with the *Peshkār's* register of distribution of work to *muharrirs* and the fines entered in the fine register. The Assistant *Peshkār* will himself correct the Demand Register for a mistake arising in stage D. For a mistake arising in any other stage he will correct the papers in the file and supply a list of corrections to be made in the record which will be passed on to the Superintendent in charge of the Press who will arrange for the mistakes to be corrected by the Press *Peshkārs*. The working of this check is one of the most important matters which the H. Q. A. S. O. will have to keep his eye upon. Any cases of large mistakes or mistakes in which it is clear that the *muharrirs* have been guilty of fudging will be dealt with by him.

7. The Assistant *Peshkār* after finishing his check of a *mauza* will enter the total demand in the *mauza* Demand Register which will be kept at *Sadar* in a bound book in the form prescribed by the Director of Land Records. In this connection it is to be noted that in the case of *diara* or *jamabandi* estates, the cess will be calculated in the *jamabandi* camp and entered in the record there, but the estate must find place in the *Sadar* Demand Register. The Assistant *Peshkār* will not deal with *jamabandi* estates at all. The part of the *Sadar* Demand Register showing the amount due from the Local Government will be entered by the *Peshkār*.

8. Calculation of settlement costs is now complete and no more forms have to be filled up before recovery can be commenced. The writing of the Cess Rolls Extracts for service on tenure-holders and notices under section 40 remains. A page of the roll will be taken for each *tauzi* in the village and for each separate account in the *tauzi*. The columns of the roll will be filled up for all tenures and for holdings for which an area has been sublet which brings in a rent of Rs. 5 or more, the details of name and address of possessors being taken from the Demand Register. When the rent of a tenure or holding has not been recorded in the *mauza* in hand, the tenure or holding will not appear in the roll written for the *mauza*. Extracts and notices under section 40 will be written up at the same time.

9. When all the work on the *mauza* is finished the bundle of papers will be separated by the roll-writing *muharrir* into 3 parts :—

- (a) The part for the recovery camp.
- (b) The part to go into the cess files.
- (c) *Jānch* Form.

Into part (a) will go—

- (1) Demand Register.
- (2) Schedule of Demands.
- (3) Receipt Books.
- (4) Cess Extracts.

Into part (b) will go—

- (1) C. R. T. Forms.
- (2) Cess Abstracts.
- (3) Cess Roll Forms, office copy.
- (4) Cess Notice under section 40.
- (5) Cess Roll, public copy.

Into part (c) will go—

- (1) *Jānch* Form.
- (2) Demand Calculation Slip.

The *Peshkār* will take part (a) and place on a separate rack called the Demand Rack from which it will be taken when required for the recovery camp. He will take part (b) and collect all the files of this sort *tauziwār* in his file rack, where it will form, with the cess order sheet returns if any and other cess papers received from the objection camps, the cess file to be made over to the Collector. Part (c) will go either to the Statistical Branch if statistics are not complete or to the *mauza* bundle in the record room.

10. The Cess *Peshkār* will see that part (a) is complete and arrange the binding of the receipts. These will be bound, for each *mauza* the exact number of receipts with no blank forms. Only when there are more than 100 receipts for one *mauza* will there be more than one book. Then the first book will hold the first 100 receipts, and so on. The last book will be the only one which contains less than 100 receipts. The cover of the book will show *mauza* name and number, *thana*, book number and the total number of receipts in the book. The receipts will neither be signed nor sealed until this is done in the recovery camp.

11. The *Peshkār* will keep a register of distribution of work among *muharrirs* for stage D as for stage C.

12. The Cess *Peshkār*'s work is:—

- (1) Distribution of work and maintenance of the registers required in stage C.
- (2) Distribution of work and maintenance of registers required in stage D.
- (3) Preparation of a weekly return showing progress in (1) C. R. T. A. work by number of *ekwāls* and interests in *mauza* finished in the stage, (2) in C. R. T. B. work by number of *ekwāls* and number of *tauzis* completed, (3) in stage D by number of interests in *mauzas* finished in (a) entering cess in record, (b) calculation of demand and completion of demand registers, (c) completion of roll-writing; and (4) by number of *tauzis* complete the number of files which have been put up to H. Q. A. S. O. for his order regarding draft publication.

13. Draft publication order will be written as soon as the file is complete for any *tauzi*, but as it will actually be draft published from the recovery camp objections will be received up till one month after the date on which recovery commences.

14. Maulvi Abdul Jalil Khan, Deputy Collector and Head-Quarters Assistant Settlement Officer, has been empowered by the Collector of Noakhali to issue notices under section 40 of the Cess Act and deal with objections, etc.



Form No. 74.

## CESS FORMS.

ATTESTATION. JANCH FORM.

মোজার নাম—

नं—

थाना—

ତୌଜି ନং

[illegible]



Form No. 81.

তোজি নং

খাজানা

খতিয়ান নং

মোজার নাম

জে, এল, নং

থানা

## ১৮৮০ সনের সেস্ আইনের ১৭ ধারা মতে নোটিশ।

নোয়াখালী জিলার অন্তর্গত মহালের কিম্বা তালুক প্রভৃতির ভোগাধিকারী ও অন্যান্য স্বার্থ বিশিষ্ট ব্যক্তিগণকে এই আদেশ করা যাইতেছে যে, এই মহালে বা তালুক প্রভৃতিতে যত ভূমি আছে ও তাহার নিমিত্ত যত খাজানা দেওয়া যায় তাঁহারা এতৎসংযুক্ত, কাগজাত পাঠে ইহার রিটার্ণ লিখিয়া উক্ত জিলার রিভ্যালুয়েসন কালেক্টরের ক্ষমতাপ্রাপ্ত সেটেলমেন্ট অফিসার সাহেবের কাছারিতে দিবেন। এই নোটিশ পাইবার পর নিম্নলিখিত সময়ের মধ্যে কিম্বা উক্ত সময় অতীত না হইতে সেটেলমেন্ট অফিসার সাহেবের নিকটে প্রার্থনা করিয়া অধিক সময় পাইলে সেই বর্দ্ধিত সময়ে উক্ত ভোগা-ধিকারীর কিম্বা তাহার ক্ষমতাপ্রাপ্ত কার্যকারকের সেই রিটার্ণ স্বাক্ষর করিয়া দিতে হইবে, না দিলে ঐ সময় কিম্বা বর্দ্ধিত সময় গত হইলে পর যতদিন তাঁহারা রিটার্ণ না দেন ততদিন তাঁহাদের দিন প্রতি পঞ্চাশ টাকা দণ্ড দিতে হইবে। ঐ সময়ের পর সেই রিটার্ণ উক্ত প্রকারে যতকাল না দেওয়া যায় ততকাল তাঁহারা মোকদ্দমা করিয়া উক্ত মহাল ( বা তালুক প্রভৃতি ) সম্পর্কে আপনাদের প্রাপ্য পাইতে পারিবেন না।

যে মহাল বা তালুক প্রভৃতি সম্পর্কে এই নোটিশ দেওয়া যায়, তাহার বার্ষিক রাজস্ব বা খাজানা ৫০০ টাকার অধিক না হইলে এই নোটিশ পাইবার তারিখ অবধি ছয় সপ্তাহ মধ্যে উক্ত ভোগাধিকারীগণ রিটার্ণ দিবেন। উহা ৫০০ টাকার অধিক হইলে তিন মাস মধ্যে রিটার্ণ দিবেন।

যে সময়ে দেওয়া গেল সেই সময়ের মধ্যে ভোগাধিকারীগণ কোন বিশিষ্ট কারণে রিটার্ণ দিতে না পারিলে সময় বৃদ্ধি করিয়া লইবার নিমিত্ত কালেক্টরের ক্ষমতাপ্রাপ্ত সেটেলমেন্ট অফিসার সাহেবের নিকট প্রার্থনা করিবেন।

মন্তব্য :—

যদি পক্ষ রিটার্ণ দাখিল করিতে ইচ্ছুক না হয় তাহা হইলে সেটেলমেন্ট রেকর্ডের পাণ্ডুলিপি প্রস্তুত হইয়াছে ১০৩ (ক) ধারা অনুযায়ী সংশোধিত ঐ পাণ্ডুলিপি অনুসারে রিভ্যালুয়েসন হইবে।

W. H. THOMPSON,  
Settlement Officer.

ত্রিপুরা ও নোয়াখালী সেটেলমেন্ট অফিস।

তাং

Form No. 80.

## বিশেষ নোটিশ ।

এতদ্বারা নোয়াখালী কালেক্টরীর তৌজিভুক্ত কিন্তু জিলার বাহিরে অবস্থিত ভূমির মালিকগণকে জানান যাইতেছে যে—

গভর্ণমেন্টের আদেশ মতে নোয়াখালী জিলার পথকর ও পাবলিককর উক্ত জিলার সেটেলমেন্ট রেকর্ড দৃষ্টে পুনঃ ধার্য্য হইবে। তজ্জন্য জিলার মধ্যস্থিত ভূমির রিটার্ণ দেওয়ার আবশ্যকতা নাই। কিন্তু উক্ত জিলার তৌজিভুক্ত অথবা জিলার সীমানার বহিঃস্থিত ভূমির রেকর্ড প্রস্তুত হইতেছে না বলিয়া ঐ সকল ভূমির জন্ম রিটার্ণ দাখিল করিতে হইবে। এতদার্থে এই সঙ্গে যে ফরম দেওয়া গেল তাহাতে ১৮৮০ খৃষ্টাব্দের সেন্স আইনের ১৪ ধারা মতে উপরোক্ত ভূমির রিটার্ণ দাখিল করিবে। ইতি

W. H. THOMPSON,  
Settlement Officer.



## বিশেষ নোটিশ ।

এই সঙ্গে যে নোটিশ পাঠান হইল তাহা কেবল আইনমত আবশ্যক বলিয়া পাঠান হইল । সেটেলমেন্ট অফিসার সাহেব সেস রিভ্যালুয়েসনের জন্য কালেক্টরের ক্ষমতাপ্রাপ্ত হইয়াছেন এবং এক্ষণে সেটেলমেন্ট রেকর্ড অনুযায়ী শুদ্ধমত ভ্যালুয়েসন করা যাইতে পারে । সুতরাং পক্ষগণ রিটার্ণ দাখিল করিতে ইচ্ছুক না হইলে তাহাদের রিটার্ণ প্রস্তুত ও দাখিল করার জন্য কষ্ট স্বীকার ও ব্যয় বহন অনাবশ্যক সেস আইনের ৩৫ ধারামতে ভ্যালুয়েসন রোল সাধারণের অবগতির জন্য প্রকাশ করা যাইবে এবং তাহাতে কোন ভুল থাকিলে পক্ষগণ আপত্তি করিতে পারিবে ।

পক্ষগণকে জানান যাইতেছে যে নোয়াখালী জিলার জমির রিটার্ণ না দেওয়ার জন্য তাহাদিগকে কোন শাস্তি দেওয়া হইবে না—সেস আইনের ১৮ ধারামতে কোন জরিমানা ১৯ ধারামতে কোন শাস্তি কিম্বা ২১ ধারামতে কোন খরচ আদায় হইবে না ।

পক্ষগণ নিম্নলিখিত কোন এক পন্থা অবলম্বন করিতে পারে :—

(১) যদি কোন রিটার্ণ দাখিল করিতে না পারে—এ অবস্থায় স্বত্বের যে পাণ্ডুলিপি প্রকাশিত হইয়াছে তাহা ১০৩ক ধারানুযায়ী রীতিমত সংশোধন হইলে তদনুসারে ভ্যালুয়েসন মূল্য নিরূপণ করা হইবে ।

(২) এতৎ সম্বলিত আবেদন পত্র এই মর্মে দস্তখত করিয়া পাঠাইতে পারে যে সেটেলমেন্ট রেকর্ডই ভ্যালুয়েসনের জন্য আমাদের রিটার্ণ গণ্য করা হউক অথচ যেন আমাদের দেওয়ানী আদালতে কিম্বা ১০৫ বা ১০৬ ধারামত মোকদ্দমা স্থাপন করিবার অথবা ১০৮ক ধারামত আবেদন করিবার অধিকার থাকে এবং উক্তরূপ মোকদ্দমা বা আবেদনের ফলাফলানুযায়ী যেকোন রেকর্ড সংশোধিত হয় তদনুসারে পুনরায় সেস নির্ধারণের কোন বাধা না হয় ।

(৩) ইচ্ছা করিলে আইনমত রিটার্ণ দাখিল করিতে পারে কিন্তু পক্ষগণকে সাবধান করিয়া দেওয়া যাইতেছে যে এক্ষণে রিটার্ণ সেটেলমেন্ট রেকর্ডের সহিত পরীক্ষা করিয়া দেখা হইবে এবং কোনরূপ অনৈক্য বা ছুট দেখা গেলে তদন্ত করা হইবে এবং ঐ তদন্তের খরচ পক্ষকে বহন করিতে হইবে ।

নয়ম্বর ১৯৩১

W. H. THOMPSON,  
Settlement Officer.

তোজ নং

খাজানা

খতিয়ান নং

মোজার নাম

জে, এল, নং


থানা

জিলা নোয়াখালীর শ্রীযুক্ত সেটেলমেন্ট অফিসার সাহেব বাহাদুর  
সমীপেয় ।

আমি এতদ্বারা জানাইতেছি যে আমি সেস আইন মতে রিভ্যালুয়েসনের জন্য কোন পৃথক রিটার্ণ দিতে ইচ্ছা করি না সেটেলমেন্ট রেকর্ডই আমার রিটার্ণ স্বরূপ গণ্য হইতে পারে কিন্তু ঐ রেকর্ড সংশোধনের জন্য দেওয়ানী আদালতে কিম্বা বঙ্গীয় প্রজাস্বত্ব বিষয়ক আইনের ১০৫ বা ১০৬ বা ১০৮ক ধারা মতে আমার মোকদ্দমা স্থাপন করিবার অধিকার থাকিল এইরূপ মোকদ্দমার ফলে রেকর্ড অনুসারে সংশোধিত হইলে ঐ সংশোধিত রেকর্ড আমার সেস টিকমত ধার্য হইতে এই অবস্থানের জন্য কোন বাধা হইবে না ।

Form No. 85.

১৮৮০ সালের পথকর আইনের ১৭ ধারানুযায়ী নোটিশ জারীর রিটার্ণ।  
তৌজি নং

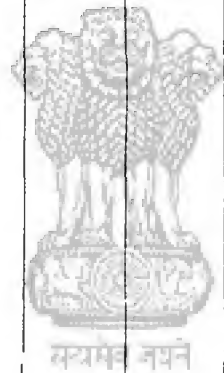
সৌজা নং	থানা।	খতিয়ান নং	যাহার উপর জারী করা হইয়াছে তাহার নাম।	আপকের দস্তখত ও পেয়াদার রিটার্ণ।
			 <p>महामहोदय</p>	



## CESS REGISTER OF TENURES B.

খাজানা ————— যে মৌজায় খাজানা লিপি করা হইয়াছে

তার নাম \_\_\_\_\_

সোজার নাম ও নং এবং থানাক্ক নাম ।	খতিয়ান নং ।	নিজ দখল জমির মূল্য ।	অধীনস্থ ষহের খাজানা ।	খাজানাপ্রদ অধীনস্থ ষহের মূল্য ।		খাজানা শূন্য অধীনস্থ ষহের মূল্য ।		মন্তব্য ।
				রায়ত্তি ।	মাধ্যক্ষক ।	রায়ত্তি ।	মাধ্যক্ষক ।	
১	২	৩	৪	৫	৬	৭	৮	৯
			 <p>বঙ্গদেশ সরকার</p>					

১০. তৌজি নং-.....

একোয়াল নং \_\_\_\_\_

নিজ দখল জমির মূল্য।	অধীনস্থ রায়ত ওয়ারী জমির মূল্য।	অধীনস্থ মধ্য- স্থরের জমির মূল্য।	মোট মূল্য।	খাজানা শূন্য অধীনস্থ স্থরের মূল্য।	খাজানা বা রাজস্ব।	৪ নং ধর বাদ ৫ ৬ নং ধরের অর্ধ।	৭ নং ধরের উপর এক আনা হিসাবে সেদু।
১	২	৩	৪	৫	৬	৭	৮



Form No. 110.

## CESS EXTRACT FORM.

জিলা নোয়াখালী

সন

মহালের নং

ক্রমিক নং

নাম

পিতার নাম

সাং

প্রতি—

বঙ্গীয় ১৮৮০ সনের ৯ আইনের ৩৫ ধারা মতে প্রকাশিত মূল্য নির্ধারণ তালিকা হইতে উদ্ধৃত।

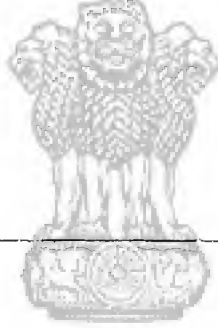
মধ্যস্থতের নাম

মোজা ও খতিয়ান নং

বার্ষিক মূল্য { সকল ছেকায় খাজানাপ্রদ জমির  
অধীনস্থ ছেকায় খাজানা বিহীন জমির

খাজানার পরিমাণ

সেসের পরিমাণ



W. H. THOMPSON,

সেটেলমেন্ট অফিসার।

মধ্যস্থতের নাম

মহালের নং

মোজা ও খতিয়ান নং

ক্রমিক নং

আমি প্রতিজ্ঞাপূর্বক জানাইতেছি যে এই মহালের মূল্য নির্ধারণ তালিকা হইতে উদ্ধৃত অংশ আমি এই মধ্যস্থতের অন্তর্গত গ্রামের প্রকাশ্য স্থলে লটকাইয়া জারি করিয়াছি।

দুইজন সাক্ষীর দস্তখত

তারিখ

জারিকারকের দস্তখত।

(১) এক মাসের মধ্যে ইহার বিরুদ্ধে উপযুক্ত কারণ প্রদর্শিত না হইলে এই সেসু মধ্যস্থতের স্বত্বলিপিতে দেখান হইবে।

(২) আপন দখল জমি ও যে অধীনস্থ জমি সকল ছেকায়ই খাজানাপ্রদ তাহার সেসু বার্ষিক মূল্যের উপর টাকায় এক আনা হিসাবে, যে অধীনস্থ জমি খাজানা বিহীন তাহার সেসু টাকায় ৬ পাই হিসাবে ধরা হইয়াছে এবং এই স্বত্বের জন্য দেয় খাজানার প্রতি টাকায় ৬ পাই হিসাবে বাদ দেওয়া হইয়াছে।

(৩) মহালের সম্পূর্ণ মূল্য নির্ধারণ তালিকা মহালে জারি হইয়াছে।

W. H. THOMPSON,

সেটেলমেন্ট অফিসার।

## মহালের নং

জিলা নোয়াখালী

ਸੁਨ

বঙ্গীয় ১৮৮০ সনের ৯ আইনের ৩৫ ধারামতে মূল্য নির্ধারণ তালিকা।

ক্রমিক নং	মহাল বা অধীনস্থ মধ্যস্থত্ব।		বার্ষিক মূল্য।		রাজস্ব বা খাজানার পরিমাণ।	সেতের পরিমাণ।
	একোয়াল নং বা মৌজার নাম ও পত্তিয়ান নং।	নাম।	খাজানাপ্রদ জমির।	খাজানাপ্রদ জমির।		

- (১) এক মাসের মধ্যে ইহার বিরুদ্ধে উপযুক্ত কারণ প্রদর্শিত না হইলে মধ্যস্থতের এই সেস্ স্বকলিপিতে দেখান হইবে।
- (২) আপন দখল জমি ও যে অধীনস্থ জমি সকল হেঁকারই খাজানা প্রদ শাহার সেস্ বার্ষিক মূল্যের উপর টাকায় এক আনা হিসাবে, যে অধীনস্থ জমি খাজানা বিহীন তাহার সেস্ টাকায় ৬ পাই হিসাবে ধরা হইয়াছে এবং এই স্বত্বের জন্য দেয় খাজানার প্রতি টাকায় ৬ পাই হিসাবে বাদ দেওয়া হইয়াছে।

W. H. THOMPSON,  
সেটেলমেন্ট অফিসার ।

## APPENDIX VIII.

Copy of the Letter regarding Correctness of the Records prepared  
in the Course of Roshnabad Settlement.

No. 182, dated Noakhali, the 11th June 1915.

From—W. H. THOMPSON, ESQ., I.C.S., Settlement Officer, Tippera-Noakhali,  
To—The Director of Land Records, Bengal.

IN compliance to your letter No. 29-I-4895, I have the honour to forward herewith a copy of my letter No. 123, dated 18th May 1915, and addressed to the Collector of Noakhali, in which I gave the results of an enquiry which had been made into the relation between the present circumstances and the record-of-rights of Chakla Roshnābād. The maps upon which the *partāl* lines were plotted and using which field to field check was done in certain chosen villages were sent to the Collector of Noakhali with that letter in original.

No. 123, dated Noakhali, the 18th May 1915.

From—W. H. THOMPSON, ESQ., I.C.S., Settlement Officer, Tippera-Noakhali,  
To—The Collector of Noakhali.

I HAVE the honour to address you in reply to your letter No. 1161-G., in which you required my views as to the present state of the record-of-rights of Chakla Roshnābād and the advisability of revising it. It appeared to me that the only means by which it was possible to discover the relation between the record and the present circumstances of the lands of the estate was to have a detailed check of the records of a few villages within the estate made on the spot by an experienced Revenue Officer. I discussed the matter with you as well as with the Collector of Tippera and the Director of Land Records when he came on inspection to this district at the end of November last. From what I had discovered from the manager of the estate and others there appeared no reason to suppose that the conditions in other parts of the estate were materially different from those in the block comprising Thana Chhāgalnāiā in Noakhali district. In fact, it seemed likely that if much jungle had been brought under cultivation during the last 15 years it would more probably be found against the hills bordering Chhāgalnāiā than elsewhere. Accordingly, with the permission of the Director of Land Records Babu Jogash Chandra Guha, Revenue Officer, was deputed from early in March until the middle of April to check the maps of the last settlement by means of *partāl* lines and the record by means of a field to field comparison of what was entered in the old *khatiāns* with the facts of to-day, in two groups of four villages each, one group in the North of the thana round Parasurām and one in the South round Chhāgalnāiā itself. Both groups included villages bordering on independent Tippera.

2. Although, it was possible to find many of the points permanently demarcated by the staff of the last settlement, these were naturally not near enough together for it to be possible to run *partāl* lines from pillar to pillar. Accordingly, the Revenue Officer was instructed to choose as the points from which to run his line, either the corners of old tanks, or the corners of the highest and most solid-looking *āils* which form the field boundaries, especially such *āils* as mark differences of level and so cannot easily be shifted. There was no difficulty in finding suitable points and the fact that the field corners chosen had not "shifted" in 15 years is amply demonstrated by the fact that very little alteration was discovered along any of the lines. Altogether 1,052 chains or between twelve and thirteen linear miles of *partāl* lines were run. I enclose traces showing the lines of the old maps in black ink and the plotting of the *partāl* field books in red ink. The same traces show also the alterations discovered in the maps during field to field *bujhārat*. It will be seen that not one of the *partāl* lines has brought to light any serious defect in the original survey. In this connection it is well to explain that the old maps which the Revenue Officer took out into the field with him were those of the Collector's copy of the record. They are on tracing cloth, a material, which, especially in a damp climate, only retains its exact form for a comparatively short time. It dries, becomes opaque and, as its power of retaining size and shape depends on the consistency of the glue with which the cloth is covered, it is very liable to stretch in places which have been rubbed and worn. The maps are kept *folded* in pockets inside the covers of the bound volumes of the record and are worn where the folds come. The most noticeable differences brought out by the *partāl* lines and the field *bujhārat* are occasioned by the fields, which were already very small, being subdivided. These subdivisions are found to represent separate possession by the joint-owners of undivided holdings. Brothers have often made a partition of their lands which they maintain from year to year. Under the rules in use in Mr. Cumming's settlement such plots included in the same *jama* were not apparently shown separately, and it appears from enquiry that most of the subdivisions now found actually existed at the time of the old settlement, but were not recorded. Such subdivision of plots does not, therefore, represent an alteration of possession since the last settlement nor a real discrepancy between the old maps and what is now found on the ground. The record of such separate possession by persons jointly responsible for the rents of their holdings is not an important matter. It is only three years or so ago that the Director of

Land Records was doubting the advisability of printing the details of such separate possession even after it had been included in the draft records. Apart from this kind of discrepancy and one or two cases of the encroachment of cultivation on paths and old silted tanks, there are none which may not possibly be accounted for by the wear of the old maps and the personal element which makes a certain amount of discrepancy inevitable between the plotting of two different persons each from a different system of chain lines. It is my opinion that the field boundaries have shifted practically not at all, and that the old maps are as good as we could make them to-day. The original maps of the survey are in the office of the Survey of India in Calcutta and are reported to be in excellent condition.

3. With Maulvi Kabiruddin, Deputy Collector and Charge Officer in this settlement, I went through half the length of Chhāgalnāīā *thana* and we spent a morning "*partālling*" with the Revenue Officer, Babu Jogesh Chandra Guha, at Parasuram. The nature of the country is very different from that of the part of the district nearer the Meghnā river. The soil is yellow, sometimes reddish. It gets very hard indeed in the dry weather and is at all times very much firmer than the sandy, more recent, deposits of the Delta. The country is comparatively high, the roads do not need much embankment and the homestead sites are only a foot or two above the level of the paddy fields. The fields are all separated by *āils* often a foot high and a foot wide, which give the appearance of not having moved in the least for years. After what we saw of the country neither Maulvi Kabiruddin nor myself were surprised to find on "*partālling*" that the field boundaries had not shifted.

4. I come to the conclusion that as far as the quality of the old maps is concerned there is no necessity to have a fresh survey made. If it were decided to prepare a fresh record, and record separate possession by the co-sharers in the plots of their holdings, it would not be difficult for the *khānapuri āmin* to show the subdivision of the plots on the old maps.

5. In his check of the record the Revenue Officer did field-to-field *bujhārat* of 1,242 plots belonging to 229 *khatīāns*. In the case of every change he inquired into the way in which the change had come about and made a note of it. *Bujhārat* was done in this way in 4 villages, two near Parasuram and two near Chhāgalnāīā. Bāspadua near Parasuram and East Chhāgalnāīā were two of these villages, and they march on independent Tippera. Appended are three tables. The first shows the changes in possession of plot by plot, the second shows the changes in possession holding by holding instead of plot by plot, the third shows changes in the rents realized. In Table I will be noticed first of all the large number of "*hāta*" plots. These are, due to separate possession by co-sharers in the same holding and, as explained above, appear as changes rather from the difference of the rules under which we work now and those under which the old settlement staff worked than as real discrepancies. The figure in column 10 needs some explanation. At the time of Mr. Cumming's settlement only those persons whose names were recorded in the landlord's *serista* or were the heirs of former settlement holders whose names had been so recorded were entered in the *khatīāns*. Other members of the family, collateral relations, although they were in possession as co-sharers, were not recorded. There seems no doubt that this was the case; there are no disputes involved. In regard to these again, therefore, the discrepancy is due to a difference between the working rules in force then and now. The same applies to the figure 16 in column 12; the exchanges were not recorded. If we omit from the discrepancies the figures of columns 3, 10 and 12, the total number of plots in which a change otherwise than by inheritance was found is 283. Out of these the changes in 170 plots (the total of columns 5, 8, 59) have already been incorporated in the landlords' *serista*. In short, of the plots checked 21 per cent. have been involved in changes otherwise than by inheritance, but in the case of 13½ per cent. the changes have been already incorporated into the landlords' working copy of the record. Among 1,242 plots there are disputes touching only 4 plots.

6. Table II shows that among 229 *khatīāns* 121 are affected by change due only to inheritance—that among 163 holdings (4 of the *khatīāns* were the *zamindari khewats*), not changed in any other way, one or more of the recorded co-sharers has died, and his place taken by his heirs in 117 of them. Among these 117 holdings in the case of only 7 has the change by inheritance been recorded in the landlords' *serista*.

7. Table III shows the changes which have taken place in the rent. There was only one case found in which there was an enhancement of rent by contract, and I am inclined to think that the Revenue Officer failed to notice some definite reason for the change rather than that the rate of rent has been increased. There are few changes in rent and in making them the old settlement record has been followed explicitly, the landlords' agents dividing rent in cases where parts of holdings have been sold and making settlement of lands bought up by the estate, on the basis of the areas given in the record.

8. A word must be said in reference to the figures in columns of the three tables shown as changes due to new settlements. These are not cases of waste lands having been brought under cultivation, but cases in which the landlord has bought up holdings in his own name for arrears of rent and resettled them. In one *manza* Bāspadua, 59 plots were found which have just been bought in the way and have not yet been resettled. It was not found that any but a very small amount of waste land had been brought under cultivation, even on the borders of Independent Tippera, though the demand for land is very great. The waste land is very different in character from the paddy land. It consists of little rounded hillocks, where the reddish yellow soil is very hard and barren.

Such land is practically worthless for the purpose of growing rice and all the good land was taken up before the last settlement. The only cases of lands which may have been brought under cultivation are some of the 12 plots of Purbba Chhāgalnāiā and 3 plots of Bāspadua shown in column 11 of Table I.

9. The Revenue Officer has had no difficulty during his enquiry in tracing the connection between the persons named in the old record and the present possessors. As I particularly wanted to find whether this was easy to do, on the day that I was "*partāling*" in the area I made a point of examining the old record in the case of every plot near the "*partāl*" lines. By asking two or three questions of the villagers who were present the connection was at once disclosed.

10. The result of the enquiry that has been made is to show that :—

- (a) The old maps were very good.
- (b) There has been remarkably little shifting of field boundaries since the maps were made.
- (c) There have been a great many changes due to death and inheritance.
- (d) There has been a certain number of changes in possession due to purchase by *raiya*ts and purchase and settlement by the landlords. In the area examined about  $\frac{2}{3}$  of these changes had found their way into the landlords' *serista*.
- (e) Rent is always realized on the basis of the record-of-rights without exception.
- (f) There has been apparently very little extension of cultivation even along the boundary of Independent Tippera.

11. A fresh record would be an improvement on the old record in that :—

- (a) It would show all changes by inheritance and sale.
- (b) It would show separate possession of plots of the same holding by co-sharers.
- (c) It would show the names of collateral relations whose names did not appear as co-sharers in the old record. (The landlords would possibly object to this.)
- (d) It would show, as Mr. Cumming's record did not, the shares of the co-sharers in the same holding.

12. Such is the result of the enquiry which has been made into the present state of the record of Chakla Roshnābād. Your letter No. 1161-G. asked further for my views as to the advisability of revising it. There are three points of view from which the question of revising the record is to be considered—that of the landlord, that of the *raiya*t and that of administration. The landlord does not make enquiries to discover changes by inheritance and changes by purchase of plots. No landlord does so, nor could afford to do so all over his estate. But the Tippera Rāj only makes quite a nominal charge for entering the names of heirs in the place of those who have died, and not a high one for entering the names of purchasers. Enquiries for the names of heirs are only made by the landlord when the necessity for filing rent suits arises. In such cases all the names of heirs are required to make them defendants. Apart from the holdings where there have been rent suits there is no record of changes by inheritance in the landlords' *serista*.

13. From the *raiya*t's point of view it is still perfectly easy for him to see and explain to a Court, a landlord's agent or anyone else his connection with the man named in the record, and he does not think it worth while to pay the small charge for having his name recorded. In the case of change of possession other than by inheritance a large proportion of them have been made *khārij*—a very much larger proportion of the changes by purchase in late years than are made *khārij* in other parts of this district. The *raiya*ts would probably appreciate the improvements (a) and (d), although none of them would affect their relations with the landlord as they would still be jointly responsible for the rent. I noticed when I was "*partāling*" and I have noticed over the part of the district in which work has been going on this year that the *raiya*ts habitually consider the holding as the unit. When one asks whose is a plot of land they give one an answer that applies to the holding as a whole; it requires a second question to discover which of the co-sharers in the holding cultivates that plot. I put this down to the fact that every holding has its documents and in the documents the unit of the holding is not subdivided, as of course it is undivided in the eyes of the Courts to which everyone has recourse at the least provocation in this very litigious district. In regard to (c) the fact that some co-sharers were not recorded in Mr. Cumming's settlement does not appear to have put them to much trouble since the record was made. It must be remembered that Mr. Cumming decided that it was not worth while to put these three "improvements" into his record when he made it. Larger questions affecting the *raiya*ts, questions affecting his rents and his rights, are not at issue in the decision whether to revise the record or not.

14. As Mr. Emerson, the Collector of Tippera, and yourself wished me to consult the estate in this matter, I have had interviews with the Manager of Chakla Roshnābād, gave him the probable years of the various stages of the work on the assumption that it would form the last block of the operation, the years from which he could expect to get enhancement of rent, and the years when costs would be due to be recovered. Later, when I found the good quality of the maps, I attempted to give him an idea of the savings which would be involved by preparing a new record without a new map. He still would prefer that the record should be left as it is, and I enclose a copy of his letter No. 3441-1-12 in which he summarized his views. On the ground of rise of prices I think he could get a substantial enhancement of rent under section 105, but his experience in the cases following on the last settlement was not encouraging. Of the four "improvements" mentioned

above in paragraph 11 the landlord would benefit not at all by (b), (c) and (d) and feels no serious inconvenience in the matter of (a).

15. From the point of view of administration, Government with its wider outlook will be able to decide what is the advantage of rounding off the settlement operations of the two districts by including Chakla Roshnābād, but the following points are worth remarking. The estate is in compact blocks and so situated that boundary disputes with other landlords are not likely to be many or serious; the tenants are well off, the landlord may be considered to be a good one and the estate well managed; there are apparently no disputes between the landlords and tenants upon the vital questions of rent and status; the old record has an excellent reputation and is and has been implicitly, even slavishly, followed. As the result of the enquiry that has been made I have the honour to inform you that in my view the revision of the record of Chakla Roshnābād is not advisable.

In summing up the considerations upon which I have based this conclusion I have not perhaps laid sufficient stress on the absence of disputes found in the course of the enquiry which was made. This point is noticeable.

**Table I—Showing Changes in Possession plot by plot in the area subject to held to field Bujharat.**

NAME OF MAUZA.	Number of daga bijnārat.	Number of daga made.	No change.	Possession changed by new settlement.	Mistake in old record.	Dispute.	Possession changed by purchase with kharj.	Possession changed by purchase without kharj.	Possession omitted from old record, only actual settlement "holder" being "recorded".	Possession without settlement.	Possession changed by exchange.	Plots made khas by purchase.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Purbba Chhāgal-nāiā.	213	45	148	17	1	...	7	7	21	12	...	...
Boaspara ...	410	62	239	37	22	3	...	15	81	4	9	...
Bāspadua ...	204	61	84	10	...	1	19	4	19	3	5	59
Salia ...	415	58	354	14	6	...	7	17	13	2	2	...
Total ...	1,242	226	825	78	29	4	33	43	143	21	16	59

**Table II—Showing Changes in Possession holding by holding.**

NAME OF MAUZA.	Khatīāns rated.	No change.	Change due to inheritance only.	Change due to purchase kharj.	Change due to purchase not kharj.	Change due to omission of actual possession in old record.	Change due to settlement with new tenants.	Change due to mistake.	Change due to benamidar before in the record.	Change due to holding bearing to exist.	Dispute.	Change due to division of holding recognised by landlord.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Purbba Chhāgal-nāiā.	51	14	24 (4) (23)	1	5	7	...	...	...	...	...	...
Boaspara ...	82	15	40 (12) (39)	...	1	17	4	4	1	...	1	...
Bāspadua ...	25	6	13 (4) (10)	1	...	...	...	3	...	1	1	...
Salia ...	71	12	44 (18) (38)	3	6	5	...	...	...	...	...	1
Total ...	229	47	121	5	12	29	4	7	1	1	2	1

NOTE.—(1) The figure in the first bracket in column 4 shows the number of *khatīāns* in which the necessary alteration is partial only.  
(2) The figure in the second bracket in column 4 shows the number of *khatīāns* in which the heirs have not had their names recorded in the landlord's *shertā*. In the first two *mauzas* only the Raja himself has had his name recorded. In the last two only even holdings bear the names registered.

**Table III—Showing Changes in Rent.**

NAME OF MAUZA.	Khatīāns bijnārat.	No change.	Rent reduced by payment of nazar.	Rent altered by decree of a Court.	Rent altered by kharj.	Rent enhanced.	Rent dispute.	Mistake in old record.	Rent altered by transfer of plots.	New settlement.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Purbba Chhāgal-nāiā.	51	45	...	2	...	1	...	...	1	2
Boaspara ...	82	73	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	8
Bāspadua ...	25	14	...	1	2	...	1	2	5	...
Salia ...	71	64	1	1	3	...	1	1	...	...
Total ...	229	196	1	4	5	1	2	3	7	10

Note.—This table shows the alterations in the rent.

## APPENDIX IX (A).

## SPECIMEN OF FINAL KHATIAN.

PROPRIETARY.

জিলা নোয়াখালী থানা লক্ষ্মীপুর মৌজা হোসেনপুর নং ১২৮।

তোজি নং ১৪৫৬

পরগণা ভুলুয়া

খতিয়ান নং ২৫৮।

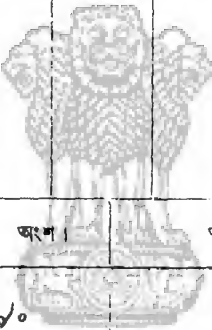
অত্র স্বত্বের বিবরণ

খারিজা তালুক মেহারজান বাহু গং

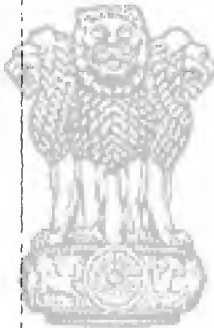
স্বত্বের বিশেষ নিয়ম ও অনুসঙ্গ।

স্বত্বের শ্রেণী

মালিক

উপরিস্থ স্বত্ব।		অত্র স্বত্বের দেয়।		মন্তব্য।	১০৫ ধারার নং মোং মতে খাতি		
পরিচয়।	পরস্পর অংশ।	রাজস্ব।	সেস।		খাজানা	সেস।	কোন দল হইতে।
ভারত সম্রাট	...	১৮	৫০/৩				
							
অত্র স্বত্বের বিস্তারিত দখল।			অংশ।	অত্র স্বত্বের বিস্তারিত দখল।			অংশ।
খ মক্রমআলী			...	১/০	কয়দার নথি		
মোবারকআলী			...	১/০			
এয়াকুবআলী			...	১/০			
পিং মৃত আবদুলহুসাইদ।							
হাফিজাখাতুন			...	১/০			
জং মৃত আবদুলহুসাইদ সাং চরমনসা।							
রূপজানবাহু			...	১/০			
জং আনোয়ারআলী সাং কুশাখালা।							
ক মৃত আকবর ভূঞার ছেটে মোতল্লী স্ত্রী মহম্মদ মিঞা।				১১০			
পিং মৃত আতরআলী ভূঞা সাং চরমনসা।				১৮			
বঙ্গীয় প্রজাস্বত্ব বিষয়ক আইনের ১০৫ক। ১০৬। ১০৮ক। ১০৯ক ধারা-মতে পরিবর্তন।							



অত্র স্বত্বের আপন দখলীয় জমির বিবরণ ।				অত্র স্বত্বের হিসাব ।	একর ও একরের শতাংশ হিসাবে জমির পরিমাণ ।			
দাগ নং।	উত্তর সীমানা ।	জমির রকম।	মন্তব্য ।		মোট জমি ।		অত্র স্বত্বের রসদার জমি ।	
					এঃ	শঃ	এঃ	শঃ
১১৯	.....	পথ	সাধারণের ব্যবহার্য্য	১০		০৬		০৩
২৫৭	.....	পথ	সাধারণের ব্যবহার্য্য	১১				০২
২৮২	.....	পথ	সাধারণের ব্যবহার্য্য	১১				০২
 সরকারি নথি								
অধীনস্থ স্বত্বের খাজানা প্রাপকের খতিয়ান নম্বর (মাস বাটা)।		নীচস্থ স্বত্বের তালিকা ।						
২৮৮ক	...	২৯০—২৯৬, ২৯৭, ২৯৯, ৩০২	...	...	...	...	১০	৯১
২৮৮খ	...	২৮৯	...	...	...	...		
অত্র স্বত্বের নিজ দখলীয় ও প্রজাবিলী জমির মোট পরিমাণ ।							১০	৯৮

## APPENDIX IX (B).

## SPECIMEN OF FINAL KHATIAN.

## MIDDLE RIGHT.

জিলা নোয়াখালী থানা লক্ষ্মীপুর মৌজা গোপীনাথপুর নং ৪২।

তোজি নং ৪২

পরগণা ভুলুয়া

খতিয়ান নং ৭৭।

অত্র স্বত্বের বিবরণ

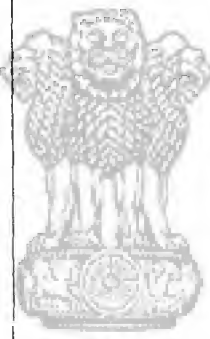
হাওলা দ্বারাগাজি মৃধা

স্বত্বের বিশেষ নিয়ম ও অনুসঙ্গ।

স্বত্বের শ্রেণী

মধ্যস্বত্ব। চিরস্থায়ী খাজানা বৃদ্ধির অযোগ্য।

উপরিস্থ স্বত্ব ।		অত্র স্বত্বের দেয় ।		মন্তব্য ।	১০৫ ধারার নং মোং মতে ধার্য ।		
পরিচয় ।	পরস্পর অংশ ।	খাজানা ।	সেন ।		খাজানা ।	সেন ।	কোন সন হইতে ।
১ক যোগেন্দ্রকুমার ঘোষ গং	১০/১০	১১১০/০	৩৭				
১খ উপেন্দ্রকুমার রায় ...	১০	৭৮	২৫৪				
১গ শচীন্দ্রকুমার রায় গং ...	১০	৭৮	২৫৪				
১ঘ নবেন্দ্রকিশোর রায় ...	১/১০	২১১০/০	৬২				
	১৮	২৮৮					
অত্র স্বত্বের বিস্তারিত দখল ।		অংশ ।	অত্র স্বত্বের বিস্তারিত দখল ।		অংশ ।		
ক মিয়াজান পাটারী পিং মৃত বকসু পাটারী ।		১১/০					
খ তুলা মিঞা পিং মৃত বকসআলি ভূঞা । মোকলছেররহমান পিং মৃত আনা মিঞা ।		২০ ২০					
গ অলিউল্লা কুদরতউল্লা গনু মিঞা পিং মৃত লকিয়তউল্লা ভূঞা		১৬১১/ ১৬১১/ ১৬১১/ ১৮					
বঙ্গীয় প্রজাস্বত্ব বিষয়ক আইনের ১০৫ক, ১০৬, ১০৮ক, ১০৯ক ধারামতে পরিবর্তন ।							

অত্র স্বত্বের আপন দখলীয় জমির বিবরণ ।					অত্র স্বত্বের হিসাব ।	একর ও একরের শতাংশ হিসাবে জমির পরিমাণ ।			
দাগ নং ।	উত্তর সীমানা ।	জমির রকম ।	মন্তব্য ।	মোট জমি ।		অত্র স্বত্বের দখলীয় জমি ।			
					এঃ	শঃ	এঃ	শঃ	
১৭১৪	আনছারআলী ...	নাল	দং ক ...	১১					৩৩
১৭৭১	আহাম্মদউল্লা ...	নাল	দং থ ...	১১					১৭
১৭৭৬	কেরামত ...	নাল	দং থ ...	১১					১০
১৭৮০	কেরামত ...	নাল	দং থ ..	১১					০৮
১৭৯৪	অলিউল্লা ...	বাড়ী	দং ক ১০ থ ১০ ...	১/০	৪	৭১	১		৪৩
১৭২০	আবদুল মজিদ ...	নাল	দং থ ...	১১					৩১
২১৪৫	নিজ বাড়ী ...	বাগান	দং থ ...	১৬ ১/১			৪০		০৪
 স্বাধীনতা									
অধীনস্থ স্বত্বের খাজানা প্রাপকের খতিয়ান নং (মায় খাটা) ।		নীচস্থ স্বত্বের তালিকা ।							
৭৭ক	৭৮—৮২						১৬		৭৪
৭৭খ	৮৪								
৭৭গ	৮৫								
অত্র স্বত্বের নিজ দখলীয় ও প্রজাবিলি জমির মোট পরিমাণ ।							১৯		২০

## APPENDIX IX (C).

## SPECIMEN OF FINAL KHATIAN.

## MIXED KHATIAN.

জিলা নোয়াখালী থানা রামগঞ্জ মৌজা মাছিমপুর নং ৩৫।

তোজি নং ৫

পরগণা ভুলুয়া

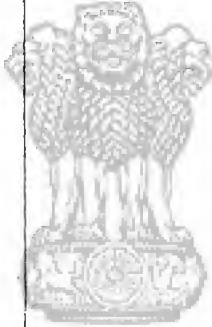
খতিয়ান নং ৪৫০।

অত্র স্বত্বের বিবরণ রায়তী

স্বত্বের বিশেষ নিয়ম ও অনুসঙ্গ।

স্বত্বের শ্রেণী হিং ১০ রায়ত। স্থিতিবান, হিং ১০ প্রাথমুযায়ী মধ্যস্বত্ব চিরস্থায়ী। খাজানা বৃদ্ধির অযোগ্য।

উপরিস্থ স্বত্ব।		অত্র স্বত্বের দেয়।		মন্তব্য।	১০৫ ধারার নং মোং মতে ধার্য।		
পরিচয়।	পরম্পর অংশ।	খাজানা।	সেস।		খাজানা।	সেস।	কোন সন হইতে।
৪৪৩ মুকুন্দকুমার নাগ চৌধুরী।	১১০	৭১১০	১২/৯	অত্র অংশে হাওলা সৃষ্টি হইয়াছে মৌখিক।			
৪৩৯ জিতেন্দ্রচন্দ্র নাগ গং	১১০	৭১১০	১২/৯				
	১১	১৫১					
অত্র স্বত্বের বিস্তারিত দখল।		অংশ।		অত্র স্বত্বের বিস্তারিত দখল।		অংশ।	
খরিদ।							
ক অবনীমোহন পাল পিং কৈলাসচন্দ্র পাল।		১৫					
শরৎচন্দ্র পাল পিং মৃত নবীনচন্দ্র পাল।		১৫					
খ চন্দ্রকান্ত পাল ...	...	/১১//					
হরকান্ত পাল ...	...	/১১//					
গৌরহরি পাল ...	...	/১১//					
পিং মৃত পূর্ণচন্দ্র পাল।							
গ বঙ্গচন্দ্র পাল পিং মৃত রামমাণিক্য পাল।		১৫					
ঘ উদয়চন্দ্র পাল ...	...	১০					
মহেশচন্দ্র পাল ...	...	১০					
পিং মৃত কৃষ্ণচন্দ্র পাল সাং কেরোয়া, থানা রায়পুরা।		১১					
বঙ্গীয় প্রজাস্বত্ব বিষয়ক আইনের ১০৫ক, ১০৬, ১০৮ক, ১০৯ক ধারামতে পরিবর্তন।							

অত্র স্বত্বের আপন দখলীয় জমির বিবরণ।						একর ও একরের শতাংশ হিসাবে জমির পরিমাণ।			
দাগ নং।	উক্তর সীমানা।	জমির রকম।	মন্তব্য।	অত্র স্বত্বের হিসাব।	মোট জমি।		অত্র স্বত্বের রস-দায় জমি।		
					এঃ	শঃ	এঃ	শঃ	
১৭২৭	কেরামত আলী	...	নাল দং ক	...	১৮			৩২	
১৭৬৯	নবীনচন্দ্র	...	নাল দং ক	...	১৮			৩৩	
১৭৩০	লক্ষ্মীচন্দ্র	...	নাল দং ঘ	...	১৮		১	৯১	
 স্বাধীনতা									
অধীনস্থ স্বত্বের খাজানা প্রাপকের খতিয়ান নং (মায় বাটী)।					নীচস্থ স্বত্বের তালিকা।				
৪৫০খ					৪৫১				
৪৫০গ					৪৫২				
অত্র স্বত্বের আপন দখলীয় ও প্রজাবিলি জমির মোট পরিমাণ।								৩	৩৬

# APPENDIX IX (D).

## SPECIMEN OF FINAL KHATIAN.

RAIYATI.

জিলা নোয়াখালী থানা লক্ষ্মীপুর মৌজা হোসেনপুর নং ১২৮।

তোজি নং ১৪৫৬

পরগণা ভুলুয়া

খতিয়ান নং ২৯০।

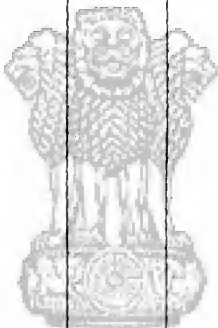
অত্র স্বত্বের বিবরণ

রায়তী

স্বত্বের বিশেষ নিয়ম ও অনুসঙ্গ।

স্বত্বের শ্রেণী

রায়ত। স্থিতিবান

উপরিবৃত্ত স্বত্ব ।		অত্র স্বত্বের দেয় ।		মন্তব্য ।	১০৫ ধারার নং মোং মতে দাখ্য ।		
পরিচয় ।	পরস্পর অংশ ।	খাজানা ।	সেস ।		খাজানা ।	সেস ।	কোন সন হইতে ।
২৮৮ক খারিজা তালুক ...	৥০			মৌখিক			
২৮৯ এবং ওশত তালুক	৥০	২৥০	/৩				
দং মহম্মদ মিঞা	১						
অত্র স্বত্বের বিস্তারিত দখল ।		অংশ ।	অত্র স্বত্বের বিস্তারিত দখল ।		অংশ ৯		
ইয়াছিন ...	...	১/৬৥//					
ক মহম্মদউল্লা ...	...	১/৬৥//					
মতিয়ররহমান ...	...	১/৬৥//					
পিং মৃত আবছুলগনি সাং নিজ ।		১					
বঙ্গীয় প্রজাস্বত্ব বিষয়ক আইনের ১০৫ক। ১০৬। ১০৮ক। ১০৯ক ধারা- মতে পরিবর্তন ।							

অত্র স্বত্বের আপন দখলীয় জমির বিবরণ।					অত্র স্বত্বের হিস্তা।	একর ও একরের পতাংশ হিসাবে জমির পরিমাণ।			
দাগ নং।	উক্তর সীমানা।	জমির প্রকর।	মন্তব্য।			মোট জমি।		অত্র স্বত্বের রস- দায়ী জমি।	
						এঃ	শঃ	এঃ	শঃ
৫১৩	মহম্মদউল্লা গং	...	বাগান	দং ক	...	১৮			০৯
৫১৪	ইয়াছিন	...	বাগান	দং ইয়াছিন	...	১৮			১০
৫১৫	মহম্মদউল্লা গং	...	বাগান	দং ক	...	১৮			০৯
৫২২	মহম্মদউল্লা গং	...	ভিটা	দং ক	...	১৮			০৮
									৩৬
অধীনস্থ স্বত্বের খাজানা আপকের খতিয়ান নম্বর (মায় বাটা)।					নীচস্থ স্বত্বের তালিকা।				
নাই									
অত্র স্বত্বের নিজ দখলীয় ও প্রজাবিলী জমির মোট পরিমাণ।									



## APPENDIX X.

## Statement of Officers who were employed in the District of Noakhali.

Serial No.	NAME OF OFFICER.	PERIOD EMPLOYED IN TIPPERA-NOAKHALI SETTLEMENT.		EMPLOYED IN NOAKHALI.	
		From—	To—	Nature of duties.	Period (settlement year).
1	W. H. Thompson, Esq., I.C.S. ...	14-9-1914	...	Settlement Officer	1914-15 to 1918-19
2	A. G. R. Henderson, Esq., I.C.S. ...	8-10-1914	15-6-1915	Cadastral Officer. Ch.	1914-15
3	M. H. B. Lethbridge, Esq., I.C.S. ...	29-10-1915	11-8-1916	Ditto* ...	1915-16
<i>Deputy Collectors.</i>					
4	Khan Saheb Maulvi A. K. Kabiruddin Ahmed	5-10-1914	16-6-1916	Cadastral Officer. Ch.	1914-15
5	Babu Kali Mohan Sen ...	19-10-1916	13-1-1919	Officer.	1915-16
6	Maulvi Abdul Jalil Khan ...	19-11-1915	19-9-1917	Attestation Officer. Ch.	1915-16
		11-10-1915	...	Cadastral Officer. C. O.	1915-16
				Attestation Officer. C. O.	1916-17
				Headquarters Assistant Settlement Officer.	1916-17 to 1918-19
<i>Munsifs.</i>					
7	Maulvi Paziruddin Ahmed ...	23-9-1914	23-6-1915	Cadastral Officer. C. O.	1914-15
		9-10-1915	31-5-1916	Attestation and Objection.	1915-16
8	Babu Satis Chandra Sen ...	23-9-1914	26-6-1915	Cadastral Officer. C. O.	1914-15
		25-10-1915	1-6-1916	Attestation and Objection.	1915-16
9	Babu Pranendra Narayan Chaudhury.	11-10-1915	31-5-1917	Objection ...	1915-16
10	Babu Satis Chandra Chakrabarty	11-10-1915	31-5-1917	Cadastral and Objection Officer. C. O.	1915-16
				Attestation ...	1916-17
<i>Technical Advisers.</i>					
11	Babu Sashi Bhushan Ghosh ...	18-11-1915	19-10-1916	Technical adviser†	1915-16
12	I. Newton, Esq. ...	21-10-1916	18-10-1917	Ditto ...	1916-17
13	Babu Akhil Chandra Ganguli ...	18-2-1915	28-5-1916	Attestation	1918-17
		30-6-1916	1-11-1917		1917-18
		2-11-1917	4-2-1919	Tech. Adviser.	
<i>Sub-Deputy Collectors.</i>					
14	Maulvi Mohamad Amjad Ali ...	5-10-1914	5-4-1915	Cadastral Officer. C. O.	1914-15
15	Babu Surendra Nath Sen Gupta ...	22-9-1914	...	Ditto	1914-15
				Attestation and Objection.	1915-16
16	„ Chinta Haran Das Gupta ...	5-10-1914	29-9-1916	Ditto	1914-15
					1915-16
17	„ Rai Charan Pal ...	11-10-1915	...	Cadastral Officer. C. O. Jamabandi.	1915-16
					1916-17
					1917-18
18	„ Nishi Kanta Basu ...	5-10-1914	29-9-1916	Cadastral Officer. C. O.	1914-15
				Attestation and Objection.	1915-16
19	„ Jaladhar Ghosh‡	1-10-1914	25-6-1915	Cadastral Officer. C. O.	1914-15
				Attestation and Objection.	1915-16
20	„ Abani Kumar Sen ...	3-11-1915	24-6-1916	Cadastral Officer. C. O.	1915-16
		7-7-1917	8-10-1918		
21	Maulvi Mohamed Ishaq ...	3-11-1915	15-4-1916	Ditto ...	1915-16
22	Babu Kshiti Nath Ghosh ...	25-10-1915	20-4-1916	Ditto ...	1915-16

\* Had charge only in Thana Rāmganj.

† Revenue officer.

‡ Appointed Sub-Deputy Collector S. D. O. from 15-12-14. Previous to this appointment he was Kānungo at Noakhali.

Serial No.	NAME OF OFFICER.	PERIOD EMPLOYED IN TIPPERA-NOAKHALI SETTLEMENT.		EMPLOYED IN NOAKHALI.	
		From—	To—	Nature of duties.	Period (settle-ment year).
	<i>Sub-Deputy Collectors—contd.</i>				
23	Babu Nibaran Chandra Das Gupta	13-11-1915	1-7-16	Cadastral C O. ...	1915-16
		1-8-1918		Case-work ...	1918-19
24	„ Prabhat Chandra Banerjee* ...	29-10-1914		Cadastral C. O. Attn. & Objn. Jamabandi.	1914-15 1915-16 1916-17 & 1917-18
25	„ Mohini Mohan Chakrabarty...	7-11-1917		Case-work ...	1918-19
26	„ Sati Prasad Ganguli ...	16-10-1916		Ditto ...	1918-19
	<i>Revenue Officers and Kānungos.</i>				
27	Babu Akhil Chandra Das ...	25-10-1915 12-10-1916	22-5-1916 4-10-1918	Attestation ...	1915-16 1916-17
28	„ Sarada Prasanna Chaudhury	25-10-1915 5-6-1916	6-5-1916 31-3-1919	Ditto ...	1915-16
29	„ Joges Chandra Guha ...	16-10-1914 8-9-1918	19-9-1917 8-10-1918	Cadastral C. O. Attestation ...	1914-15 1915-16 1916-17
30	„ Upendra Nath Ganguly ...	21-10-1914	9-9-1918	Bujhārat Kānūngo Attestation ...	1914-15 1915-16
31	„ Asutosh Banerjee ...	20-10-1914	31-3-1919	Ditto ...	1914-15 1915-16 1916-17
32	Maulvi Kazi Fazlal Karim ...	5-10-1914	27-12-1917	Bujhārat Kānūngo	{ 1914-15 1915-16
33	„ Nazimuddin Ahmed ...	26-10-1915	5-1-1919	Attestation ...	1915-16
34	Babu Sures Chandra Ghosh.	12-10-1916	29-3-1919	Ditto ...	1916-17
35	Maulvi Fazlal Karim ...	12-10-1916	28-1-1919	Ditto ...	1916-17
	<i>Kānungos.</i>				
36	Maulvi Fazlal Rahaman ...	23-10-1914	12-1-1918	Bujhārat Kānūngo	1914-15 1915-16
37	Babu Syamapada Bhattacharjee ...	1-11-1915	21-3-1919	Ditto ...	1915-16
38	„ Jogendra Chandra Datta ...	23-10-1914	6-9-1918	Bujhārat Kānūngo Recovery Officer	1914-15 1915-16 1917-18
39	„ Kalidas Mukherji ...	6-10-1914	18-10-1917	Bujhārat Kānūngo	1914-15 1915-16
40	„ Hemendra Nath Basu ...	23-10-1914	...	Bujhārat Kānūngo Sadar Kānūngo...	1914-15 1916-17 1917-18
41	„ Upendra Kishore Mazumdar	1-11-1915	30-5-1918	Bujhārat Kānūngo	1915-16
42	Maulvi Matiar Rahaman Khan ...	23-10-1914	8-10-1918	Ditto ...	1914-15 1915-16
43	„ Amanat Ali Khandakar ...	26-10-1914	30-10-1915	Ditto ...	1914-15
44	Babu Janarddan Sen Gupta ...	23-10-1914	8-10-1918	Ditto ...	1914-15
45	„ Hiralal Karmakar ...	5-11-1915	20-6-1916	Ditto ...	1915-16
46	„ Sitanath Das Gupta ...	23-10-1914	31-8-1916	Bujhārat Kānūngo	1914-15
				Sadar Kānūngo...	1915-16
47	„ Lalit Kumar Basu ...	9-10-1914	5-10-1918	Bujhārat Kānūngo	1914-15 1915-16
48	„ Anukul Chandra Ganguly ...	23-10-1914	29-3-1919	Ditto ...	1914-15 1915-16
49	Maulvi Nazir Hossein ...	29-10-1914 23-3-1917 4-9-1918	30-7-1916 18-10-1917 8-10-1918	Ditto ... Recovery Officer	1914-15 1917
50	„ Abdus Samad ...	23-10-1914	6-7-1916	Bujhārat Kānūngo	1914-15 1915-16
51	Babu Hemanta Kumar Kayral ...	26-10-1914	15-10-1917	Ditto ...	1914-15 1915-16
52	„ Purnendu Nath Guha ...	5-10-1914	...	Ditto ... Press Supdt. ...	1914-15 1916-17 and 1917-18
53	„ Jadu Nath Ganguly ...	1-11-1915 31-10-1917	23-6-1916 8-9-1918	Bujhārat Kānūngo	1914-15

\* Appointed S. D. C. from 30-11-16. Previous to this appointment he was a Kānūngo at Noakhali.

Serial No.	NAME OF OFFICER.	PERIOD EMPLOYED IN TIPPERA-NOAKHALI SETTLEMENT.		EMPLOYED IN NOAKHALI.	
		From—	To—	Nature of duties.	Period (settle- ment year).
	<i>Kānungos—contd.</i>				
54	Maulvi Abdul Gafur Biswas ...	7-11-1915	16-6-1916	Bujhārat Kānungo	1915-16
55	" Bazlal Haque Choudhury ...	23-10-1914	8-10-1918	Ditto	1914-15 1915-16
56	" Asimuddin Ahamed ...	1-11-1915	6-10-1918	Ditto	1915-16 1916-17
57	Babu Jatindra Mohan Chakrabarty	3-11-1915	5-6-1916	Ditto	1915-16
		1-11-1917	8-9-1918		
58	" Dhananjoy Barua ...	23-9-1914	4-6-1918	Ditto	1914-15
59	" Jogendra Nath Sen ...	23-10-1914	3-6-1916	Ditto	1914-15
		31-10-1917	8-10-1918		
60	" Radha Charan Mandal ...	23-10-1914	17-6-1916	Ditto	1914-15
		31-10-1917	8-10-1918		
61	Maulvi Golam Haidar ...	23-10-1914	28-1-1919	Ditto	1914-15
62	" Md. Rajjabadi ...	23-10-1914	27-5-1918	Ditto	1914-15 1915-16
63	" Syed Fazlar Rahaman ...	23-10-1914	...	Ditto	1914-15
64	Babu Nirendra Kumar Kanungo ...	23-10-1914	1-6-1916	Ditto	1914-15
		5-7-1916	18-1-1919		
65	Maulvi Muzaffar Ali ...	10-10-1914	9-8-1915	Ditto	1914-15
		25-8-1916	17-6-1918		
66	" Taheruddin Ahmed ...	5-10-1914	31-7-1917	Ditto	1914-15 1915-16
67	Babu Aksioy Kumar Mukherji ...	23-10-1914	18-10-1917	Ditto	1914-15
68	" Nityananda Chakrabarty ...	23-10-1914	18-10-1917	Ditto	1914-15
69	" Nageswara Kumar Biswas ...	5-10-1914	9-10-1915	Ditto	1914-15
70	" Dwijendra Nath Ray Chau- dhury.	23-10-1914	30-10-1915	Ditto	1914-15
71	" Jogindra Kr. Sen ...	23-10-1914	...	Ditto	1914-15 1915-16
72	" Joges Chandra Rudra ...	23-10-1914	5-6-1916	Ditto	1914-15 1915-16
73	" Hiranmoy Ray ...	23-10-1914	18-10-1917	Ditto	1914-15 1915-16
74	" Rajani Kanta Chaudhury ...	23-10-1914	10-6-1916	Ditto	1914-15 1915-16
		31-10-1917	22-5-1918		
75	" Jagadish Ch. Bhattacharjee	23-10-1914	22-6-1916	Ditto	1914-15
		1-11-1917	29-5-1918		
76	" Ramdeb Gyan ...	23-10-1914	3-9-1917	Ditto	1914-15 1915-16
77	Mr. R. J. DeSilva ...	5-10-1914	10-6-1917	Ditto	1914-15
78	Babu Amulya Kumar Bhattacharjee	23-10-1914	2-10-1918	Ditto	1914-15 1915-16
79	" Hrishikesh Mazumdar ...	23-10-1914	8-9-1918	Ditto	1914-15
80	Maulvi Karim Baksha ...	5-10-1914	5-10-1918	Ditto	1914-15
81	" Mizanar Rahaman ...	5-10-1914	8-9-1918	Ditto	1914-15 1915-16
82	" Abdur Rajjak ...	21-9-1914	27-5-1918	Ditto	1914-15
83	Babu Narendra Nath Sen Gupta ...	12-10-1914	2-12-1915	Ditto	1914-15
84	Maulvi Eusanuddin Ahmed ...	14-10-1914	21-12-1918	Ditto	1914-15
85	Babu Mohini Mohan Sen ...	12-10-1914	9-11-1915	Ditto	1914-15
86	" Upendra Nath Biswas ...	12-10-1914	25-10-1915	Ditto	1914-15
		4-11-1917	9-10-1918		
87	" Surendra Nath Sen Gupta ...	12-10-1914	8-11-1915	Ditto	1914-15
		31-10-1917	31-5-1918		
88	" Satis Chandra Misra ...	12-10-1914	8-11-1915	Ditto	1914-15
		31-10-1917	8-10-1918		
89	" Gakuleswar Sen ...	12-10-1914	9-11-1914	Ditto	1914-15
90	" Anukul Chandra Das ...	24-10-1914	8-11-1915	Ditto	1914-15
		1-11-1917	27-5-1918		
91	" Surendra Nath Guha ...	12-10-1914	27-10-1915	Ditto	1914-15
92	" Narendra Nath Singh ...	12-10-1914	9-11-1915	Ditto	1914-15
93	" Dwijendra Kumar Mukherjee	12-10-1914	8-11-1915	Ditto	1914-15
		1-11-1917	28-5-1918		
94	Maulvi Jalaluddin Ahmed ...	20-10-1914	8-11-1915	Ditto	1914-15
95	Babu Sasadhar Chakrabarty ...	16-10-1914	3-6-1916	Ditto	1914-15
		31-10-1917	30-5-1918		
96	" Prakas Chandra Das Gupta ...	16-10-1914	...	Ditto	1914-15
97	" Kunja Behari Gupta ...	19-11-1915	2-10-1918	Ditto	1915-16
98	Maulvi Kasemali Khan ...	1-11-1915	28-9-1917	Ditto	1915-16
99	Maulvi Abdul Karim ...	1-11-1915	8-9-1918	Ditto	1915-16
100	Babu Hari Mohan Datta ...	1-11-1915	6-10-1918	Ditto	1915-16
101	" Ruhini Kumar Datta ...	25-10-1915	18-10-1917	Ditto	1915-16

Serial No.	NAME OF OFFICER.	PERIOD EMPLOYED IN TIPPERA-NOAKHALI SETTLEMENT.		EMPLOYED IN NOAKHALI.	
		From—	To—	Nature of duties.	Period (settlement year).
	<i>Kānungos—concl'd.</i>				
102	Babu Rajani Kanta Ghosh ...	2-11-1915	10-6-1916	Bujhārat Kānungo	1915-16
103	Maulvi A. F. Basinal Haque ...	1-11-1915	4-6-1916	Ditto	1915-16
		31-10-1917	8-10-1918		
104	Babu Nares Chandra Pal ...	5-11-1915	10-10-1917	Ditto	1915-16
105	„ Sures Chandra Basu ...	5-11-1915	27-4-1918	Ditto	1915-16
106	Maulvi Fazlal Karim Khan ...	1-11-1915	6-6-1916	Ditto	1915-16
		31-10-1917	27-5-1918		
107	Babu Upendra Nath Ganguly. II	1-11-1915	5-10-1918	Ditto	1915-16
108	Maulvi Abdul Gani ...	1-11-1915	8-10-1918	Ditto	1915-16
109	Babu Jitendra Nath Sen ...	6-11-1915	8-10-1918	Ditto	1915-16
110	Maulvi Kazi Safiuddin Ahmed ...	1-11-1915	23-6-1916	Ditto	1915-16
111	Babu Mathura Nath Datta ...	5-12-1917	...	Recovery Officer	1917-18
112	„ Abinas Chandra Chakrabarty	9-11-1916	8-9-1918	Ditto	1917
113	„ Hemanga Lal Das Gupta ...	2-11-1915	3-6-1916	Ditto	1917
		8-11-1916	20-10-1917		

## APPENDIX XI.

List of Government Estates for which Revision of Land Revenue has been made.

Tauzi No.	Name of Estate.	Thana.	Area.	Revenue at last settlement.	New revenue.	PERIOD OF NEW SETTLEMENT.	
						From—	To—
			Acres.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.		
197	Mahal Char Siddi ...	Sandwip ...	1,192.65	4,925 3 5	4,485 9 0	1918-19	1932-33
211	Chakla Bamni ...	Companyganj, Feni, Noakhali.	10,913.32	10,221 13 0	17,876 3 0	1918-19	1932-33
1301	Taluk Sadatali ...	Companyganj	65.10	59 12 0	131 2 0	1918-19	1932-33
1302	Taluk Bhabani Charan Chanda.	Ditto ...	2.85	...	4 8 0	1918-19	1932-33
1590	Mahal Char Lawrence ...	North Hatia ...	2,722.52	2,080 9 6	3,894 11 0	1921-22	1935-36
1592	Mahal Char Behari ...	Ditto ...	9,104.67	16,536 5 0	30,503 4 0	1921-22	1935-36
1598	Mahal-Baher Chara ...	Companyganj	969.62	25 0 0	1,444 12 0	1919-20	1934-35
1613	Mahal Char Dhupi ...	Sandwip ...	49.37	83 1 0	51 6 0	1920-21	1934-35
1614	Mahal Char Santoshpur	Do ...	463.18	805 2 2	1,362 3 0	1918-19	1932-33
1617	Mahal Char Gachhua ...	Do ...	344.41	599 11 2	1,025 13 11	1918-19	1932-33
1623	Mahal Char Kuchiamora	Do ...	260.86	547 11 8	748 4 0	1918-19	1932-33
1624	Mahal Char Rahamatpur	Do ...	6.34	6 5 9	14 5 0	1918-19	1932-33
1640	Mahal Ram Chandra Brahmachari.	North Hatia ...	38.99	50 0 0	46 8 0	1918-19	1926-27
1641	Mahal Char Sekandar Mudafat Dulagazi.	Ditto ...	326.85	711 15 0	1,002 9 0	1919-20	1933-34
1656	Bamni Old Police-Station.	Companyganj	5.70	8 9 0	17 2 0	1918-19	1932-33
1658	Mahal Char Bangsi ...	Lakhmipur	6,256.97	23,348 7 0	29,112 3 0	1921-22	1935-36
1662	Mahal Char Magdhara	Sandwip ...	7,219.66	9,199 12 0	13,348 4 0	1918-19	1932-33
1665	Mahal Char Rahim ...	Do ...	3,364.86	7,201 3 3	8,892 0 0	1918-19	1932-33
1666	Mahal Char Badu Lakshmi.	Do ...	11,845.43	23,996 8 0	39,521 9 0	1918-19	1932-33
1667	Mahal Char Pir Baksha	Sandwip ...	5,551.29	7,080 9 6	15,500 8 0	1921-22	1935-36
1672	Mahal Char Nalchira ...	South Hatia ...	3,570.91	5,215 1 10	8,138 7 0	1919-20	1933-34
1674	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	7,793.46	9,681 4 6	18,276 0 0	1919-20	1933-34
1676	Mahal Char Iswar Ray, Part II.	Ditto ...	1,913.41	2,304 5 11	4,832 11 0	1919-20	1933-34
1726	Abandoned Bhawaniganj Road.	Noakhali ...	18.85	.....	37 14 0	1918-19	1932-33
1762	Mahal Char Huzuri, Hissya 4-18-2½ kt.	Feni ...	53.41	112 2 0	150 9 0	1919-20	1933-34
1763	Mahal Char Hakdi, Hissya 4-18-2½ kt.	Do. ...	78.68	176 7 0	243 11 0	1919-20	1933-34
1764	Mahal Char Badarpur, Hissya 4-18-2½ kt.	Do. ...	65.90	146 5 0	229 2 0	1919-20	1933-34
1776	Mahal Char Tamaruddi	South Hatia ...	14,463.86	37,905 3 3	36,119 7 0	1921-22	1935-36

Tauzi No.	Name of Estate.	Thana.	Area.	Revenue at last settlement.	New revenue.	PERIOD OF NEW SETTLEMENT.	
						From—	To—
			Acres.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.		
1780	Mahal Chas Hinguli ...	Chhagalnaia ...	58.77	92 4 0	293 2 0	1918-19	1932-33
1843	Mahal Thak Santoshpur	Sandwip ...	1,699.10	1,465 4 0	3,052 14 0	1918-19	1932-33
1844	Mahal Thak Gachhua ...	Do. ...	877.46	786 14 6	1,728 15 11	1918-19	1932-33
1855	Mahal Char Mirzamara	Lakshmipur	1,261.44	4,150 9 0	5,517 10 0	1921-22	1935-36
1927	Mahal Thak Kuchiamora	Sandwip ...	358.24	728 8 11	807 8 0	1918-19	1932-33
1936	Mahal Char Lengta ...	Do. ...	3,112.50	.....	2,951 4 0	1918-19	1922-23
1943	Mahal Char Jagabandhu	North Hatia ...	3,073.59	2,618 0 0	6,798 7 0	1919-20	1933-34
1946	Mahal Char Allen ...	Feni	1,009.21	56 7 0	971 1 0	1919-20	1923-24
1951	Mahal Feni River Strip	Chhagalnaia ...	145.53	.....	374 9 0	1918-19	1932-33
1953	Chandraganj Lakshmipur Old Road.	Lakshmipur ...	35.95	.....	112 11 0	1919-20	1933-34

## APPENDIX XII.

## List of Government Estates for which Revision of Land Revenue was not made.

Tauzi No.	Name of Estate.	Thana.	Area.	Revenue.	PERIOD OF SETTLEMENT.		REMARKS.
					From—	To—	
			Acres.	Rs. A. P.			
1318	Mahal Chaukatali ...	Sandwip ...	...	10 0 0	...	...	Reformed since record-of-right is prepared.
1555	Kharija Taluk Radha Kanta Mazumdar.	Lakshmipur	37.21	118 0 0	1916-17	1930-31	
1556	Kharija Taluk Muham-madali and others.	Ditto	28.16	89 0 0	1916-17	1930-31	
1557	Kharija Taluk Afsoruddi	Ditto	6.46	20 0 0	1916-17	1930-31	
1587	Mahal Chakle Banchha-nagar.	Ditto	1,993.00	6,388 15 0	1916-17	1930-31	
1599	Mahal Char Ram Narayan.	Feni ...	1,025.00	1,197 0 0	1911-12	1925-26	
1603	Mahal Char Ghina-dhopa, Part I.	Companyganj	315.00	504 0 0	1914-15	1928-29	
1604	Mahal Char Ghinadhopa, Part II.	Ditto	872.37	16 0 0	...	...	Grazing settlement.
1611	Mahal Char Udaykali	Sandwip ..	373.00	952 0 0	...	...	Yearly grazing settle-ment.
1612	Zimbe Syed Akbar ...	Do ...	43.00	113 0 0	1913-14	1927-28	
1615	Mahal Char Dirghapar	Do ...	140.13	430 0 0	1912-13	1926-27	
1616	Mahal Char Ijjatpur ...	Do ...	57.38	134 0 9	1912-13	1926-27	
1618	Mahal Char Banria ...	Do ...	278.56	750 0 0	1916-17	1930-31	
1619	Mahal Char Sultanpur ...	Do ...	3.42	9 0 0	1916-17	1930-31	
1620	Mahal Char Panchbaria	Do ...	39.98	84 0 0	1913-14	1927-28	
1621	Mahal Char Kuchiapar	Do ...	410.24	891 0 0	1916-17	1930-31	
1622	Mahal Char Harisipur ...	Do ...	45.21	111 0 0	1912-13	1926-27	
1627	Mahal Char Mehor ...	North Hatia	2,954.00	5,195 6 0	1916-17	1930-31	
1636	Mahal Char Lance ...	South Hatia	348.35	743 0 0	1908-09	1922-23	
1637	Mahal Char Gossain ...	North Hatia ...	656.00	1,687 0 0	1916-17	1930-31	
1647	Mahal Char King ...	South Hatia ...	1,920.00	9,584 0 0	1912-13	1926-27	
1649	Mahal Char Lakshmidia	Ditto ...	391.00	10 0 0	...	...	Under grazing settle-ment.
1664	Mahal Digli Khal Bharati.	Sandwip ...	51.00	176 0 0	1907-08	1921-22	
1671	Mahal Char Gazi ...	North Hatia ...	3,804.00	7,038 0 0	1912-13	1926-27	
1673	Mahal Char Bharat Sen	South Hatia ...	3,137.16	8,629 1 0	1916-17	1930-31	
1675	Char Iswar Ray, Part I.	Ditto ...	13,904.00	33,776 0 0	1910-11	1924-25	
1677	Mahal Char Amanulla ...	Ditto ...	5,491.29	13,376 6 0	1916-17	1930-31	
1679	Land on both sides of Dacca and Chittagong Road.	Feni ...	195.22	507 0 0	..	..	Under grazing settle-ment.
1686	Mahal Char Alexander ...	North Hatia ...	12,705.02	23,035 4 0	1917-18	1931-32	
1703	Lands on both sides of Dewanganj Road.	Feni ...	68.77	94 0 0	...	...	Under grazing settle-ment.
1759	Mahal Char Bayley ...	Sandwip ...	8,597.16	11,666 12 0	1917-18	1931-32	
1770	Mahal Char Jubilee ...	Noakhali ...	15,871.00	12,561 0 0	1914-15	1928-29	

Tauzi No.	Name of Estate.	Thana.	Area.	Revenue.	PERIOD OF SETTLEMENT.		REMARKS.
					From —	To —	
1774	Lands on the Feni Sub-divisional Officer's Compound.	Feni ...	Acres. 2·87	Rs. A P. 4 0 0	...	...	Under yearly grazing settlement.
1778	Mahal Chengar Char ...	South Hatia ...	3,512·44	2,871 0 0	1912-13	1926-27	
1783	Mahal Char Basu ...	Noakhali ...	440·00	439 0 0	1915-16	1929-30	
1787	Mahal Thak Bauria ...	Sandwip ...	805·18	1,267 6 0	1916-17	1930-31	
1788	Mahal Thak Kaehiapar ...	Do. ...	528·32	675 14 0	1916-17	1930-31	
1789	Mahal Thak Dirgha-par.	Do. ...	258·00	517 0 0	1912-13	1926-27	
1790	Mahal Noabad Group ...	Feni ...	516·45	1,245 0 0	1899-1900	1923-24	
1853	Mahal Char Jabbar ...	Noakhali ...	11,714·25	19,786 0 0	1909-10	1923-24	
1929	Mahal Char Sen ...	South Hatia ...	8,397·62	5,001 0 0	1914-15	1928-29	
1931	Mahal Char Kachhapia	Companyganj	563·91	940 0 0	...	...	Under grazing settlement.
1935	Mahal Char Jahajmara	South Hatia	2,687·20	277 0 0	...	...	Ditto.
1938	Mahal Char Kalkini ...	Lakshmipur ...	1,728·00	1,200 0 0	...	...	Ditto.
1939	Mahal Char Hare ...	South Hatia ...	1,902·24	11 0 0	...	...	Ditto.
1942	Mahal Char Falcon ...	North Hatia ...	6,403·00	10,682 0 0	1910-11	1924-25	
1947	Mahal Thak Baradhali Musapur.	Companyganj	212·00	671 0 0	1916-17	1930-31	
1950	Roadside Land of Noakhali Branch Railway.	Noakhali ...	1·67	19 0 0	...	...	
1954	Railway Surplus Land ...	...	...	8 0 0	...	...	Farmed.

### APPENDIX XIII.

List of Temporarily-settled Private Estates for which Revision of Land Revenue has been made.

Tauzi No.	Name of Estate.	Thana.	AREA.		Revenue at last settlement.	New revenue.	PERIOD OF NEW SETTLEMENT.		REMARKS.
			Acre.	Dec.			From —	To —	
					Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.			
1546	Diara Mahal Rameswar p ur Lamchhi.	Noakhali ...	86	93	193 10 7	288 3 0	1918-19	1932-33	Settled with one of the proprietors.
1548	Diara Mahal Char Bhutakhali.	Do ...	143	65	174 8 0	403 5 0	1920-21	1934-35	Settled with the proprietors.
1550	Diara Mahal Char Gullakhali.	Do ...	1,254	50	1,725 5 0	3,884 0 0	1918-19	1932-33	Settled with one of the proprietors.
1558	Diara Mahal Char Mohara.	Lakshmipur	435	38	1,077 0 0	1,460 2 0	1919-20	1933-34	Settlement taken by the proprietor.
1559	Bajeapti Mahal Purbba Babupur.	Feni ...	156	87	361 10 0	435 11 0	1918-19	1932-33	Settled with one of the proprietors.
1561	Bajeapti Mahal Char Hakdi, Hissya 3-1-1-2½ kt.	Do ...	49	07	16 9 0	159 0 0	1919-20	1933-34	Settlement not taken by proprietor, so kept under direct management of the Government.
1562	Bajeapti Mahal Char Huzari, Hissya 3-1-1-2½ kt.	Do ...	38	55	69 6 0	130 7 0	1919-20	1933-34	Ditto.
1563	Bajeapti Mahal, Hissya 3-1-1-2½ kt.	Do ...	42	63	99 2 0	159 2 0	1919-20	1933-34	Ditto.
1564	Mahal Char Badarpur, Hissya 3-1-1-2½ kt.	...	41	10	90 3 0	134 15 0	1919-20	1933-34	Ditto.

Tauzi No.	Name of Estate.	Thana.	AREA.		Revenue at last settlement.	New revenue.	PERIOD OF NEW SETTLEMENT.		REMARKS.
			Acre.	Dec.			From—	To—	
					Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.			
1569	Diara Mahal Char Lakshini Afzal Fakira.	North Hatia	353	37	...	191 4 0	1919-20	1926-27	Settled with one of the proprietors.
1570	Diara Mahal Debipur.	Lakshmipur	120	85	301 3 0	391 8 0	1919-20	1933-34	Settled with proprietors.
1574	Diara Mahal Thak Hudrakbali.	Sandwip ...	1,108	92	2,006 5 0	2,205 1 0	1918-19	1932-33	Ditto.
1576	Diara Mahal Nilakshimoy Kenjatali.	South Hatia	1,122	73	1,362 0 0	2,249 14 0	1919-20	1933-34	Not taken by proprietor, so kept under direct management.
1577	Diara Mahal Thak Sekandar.	North Hatia	362	42	430 0 6	954 7 0	1920-21	1934-35	Settled with proprietors.
1579	Diara Mahal Thak Algi.	Ditto	211	81	240 5 2	536 0 0	1920-21	1934-35	Ditto.
1582	Diara Mahal Muklud Sola Anna.	South Hatia	761	52	678 13 11	1,777 1 0	1919-20	1933-34	Settled with proprietors.
1607	Mahal Char Goalgaon, Hissya 7-1-1-2½ kt.	Feni ...	173	18	453 13 1	701 2 0	1919-20	1933-34	Not settled with the proprietor, so kept under direct management of Government.
1771	Diara Mahal Char Ababil.	Lakshmipur	1,959	07	4,178 10 0	5,723 12 0	1919-20	1933-34	Settled with proprietors.
1779	Diara Mahal Char Udwara.	Do. ...	1,123	76	2,350 7 0	4,818 1 0	1919-20	1933-34	Not settled with proprietors, so kept khas.
1928	Diara Mahal Gullakhali, 2nd Part.	Noakhali ...	152	36	51 11 0	476 11 0	1918-19	1932-33	Settled with one of the proprietors.
1959	Diara Mahal Thak Kuchiamora.	Sandwip ...	113	38	With Tauzi No. 1927.	197 7 0	1918-19	1932-33	Partitioned from Estate No. 1927 (K.M.). Settled with proprietors.
1960	Diara Mahal Thak Gachhua.	Do. ...	306	04	With Tauzi No. 1844.	427 6 0	1918-19	1932-33	Partitioned from Estate No. 1844 (K.M.). Settled with proprietors.
1961	Diara Mahal Thak Santoshpur.	Do. ...	593	76	With Tauzi No. 1843.	745 14 0	1918-19	1932-33	Partitioned from Estate No. 1843 (K.M.). Settled with proprietors.
1962	Diara Mahal Thak Hudrakbali.	Do. ...	799	10	With Tauzi No. 1574.	1,100 3 0	1918-19	1932-33	Partitioned from Estate No. 1574 (T.S.P.). Settled with proprietors.
1963	Ditto	Do. ...	729	49	Ditto	1,018 11 0	1918-19	1932-33	Ditto.
1964	Ditto	Do. ...	184	49	Ditto	262 1 0	1918-19	1932-33	Ditto.
1965	Diara Mahal Char Maghdhara.	Do. ...	2,948	94	With Tauzi No. 1662.	3,355 14 0	1918-19	1932-33	Settled with the proprietors. Partitioned from Estate No. 1662 (K.M.).



## APPENDIX XIV.

### List of Temporarily-settled Private Estates for which Revision of Revenue was not made.

Tauzi No.	Name of Estate.	Thana.	Area.	Revenue.	PERIOD OF SETTLEMENT.	
					From—	To—
			Acres.	Ra. A P.		
1549	Mahal Char Fakira ...	Companyganj ...	1,990'00	3,998 0 0	1913-14	1927-28
1552	" " Palwan ...	Lakshmipur ...	122'00	378 0 0	1912-13	1926-27
1553	" " Balamnara ...	Do. ...	9,141'43	9,117 6 0	1916-17	1924-25
1554	" " Toom, south of Char Purbbalash	Do. ...	147'00	366 0 0	1913-14	1927-28
1560	" " Khandakar ...	Feni ...	3,083'00	4,277 0 0	1909-10	1923-24
1565	" " Shahabdhikari ...	Do. ...	605'03	1,291 9 0	1916-17	1930-31
1573	" " Paiaadogi ...	Sandwip ...	131'18	842 10 0	1916-17	1930-31
1578	" " Thak Hasan Hossein ...	North Hatia ...	765'00	2,539 0 0	1915-16	1929-30
1581	" " Baradhali Musapur	Companyganj ...	100'00	261 9 0	1916-17	1930-31
1583	" " Char Niamat ...	North Hatia ...	1,586'86	1,574 0 0	1909-10	1923-24
1585	" " Thak Darbesh ...	Feni ...	250'00	397 0 0	1914-15	1928-29
1586	" " Khoazer Lamchhi	Do. ...	1,149'00	1,335 0 0	1914-15	1928-29
1595	" " Mandaliar Char ...	Noakhali ...	199'05	32 0 0	1905	Further orders.*
1772	" " Thak Darbesh ...	Feni ...	172'00	224 0 0	1914-15	1928-29
1785	" " Nij Kunjara ...	Chhagalnaia ...	38'00	51 0 0	1914-15	1928-29
1948	" " Bouria ...	Sandwip ...	284'15	309 4 0	1916-17	1930-31
1949	" " Kachiapar ...	Do. ...	184'30	165 2 0	1916-17	1930-31

\* Not yet fit for regular settlement.

## APPENDIX XV.

### List of Government Estates without Demand.

Khas Mahal.—1313, 1545, 1567, 1580, 1591, 1593, 1594, 1596, 1597, 1600, 1601, 1602, 1605, 1606, 1609, 1625, 1626, 1638, 1639, 1644, 1646, 1648, 1654, 1657, 1659, 1660, 1661, 1668, 1670, 1678, 1715, 1716, 1717, 1760, 1784, 1786, 1854, 1930, 1937, 1952, 1547, 1551, 1566, 1575.

## APPENDIX XVI

### List of Diara Resumption Proceedings in District Noakhali.

Number of proceeding.	RIVER AND THANA.	Number of parent estate.	Number of Diara estate formed.	Area.	Revenue.	PERIOD OF SETTLEMENT.	
						From—	To—
				Acres. D.	Ra. A. P.		
1	Bamni Channel, Sandwip.	14 & 16	1955	888 25	1,002 3 0	1917-18	1931-32
		14 & 16	1956	1,053 01	397 1 0	1917-18	1921-22
2	Bamni Channel, Companyganj.	14 & 16	1957	170 00	0 9 6	1918-19	1922-23
		14 & 16	1958	80 00	0 9 6	1918-19	1922-23
3	Hatia River, North Hatia.	15	1968	3,109 64	5,077 12 0	1918-19	1932-33
4	Big Feni River, Feni.	11	1969	152 40	292 7 0	1919-20	1933-34
5	Little Feni River, Companyganj.	14, 16 & 211	1970	67 58	126 7 0	1920-21	1934-35
6	Pir Baksha Dona, Sandwip.	14	1966	34 33	62 2 0	1919-20	1933-34
		14, 193 & 194	1967	235 80	401 1 0	1919-20	1933-34
7	Little Feni River, Feni.	11	1971	968 94	3,269 6 0	1920-21	1934-35
8	Little Feni River, Companyganj.	11	1972	14 82	40 0 0	1920-21	1934-35
		1763 & 1764 of Bakar-ganj Roll.	1973	4,584 59	6,304 0 0	*	

\*Resumption not yet final.

## APPENDIX XVII.

Statement showing Details of the Revaluation in the District of Noakhali as compared with those of the Previous Revaluation.

	NUMBER REVALUED OF—			Total area in sq. miles.	Total annual value.	Total annual cews.	Total valuation per sq. mile.	Total expenditure.	Total cost of valuation per sq. mile.	Total time taken to complete the proceedings.
	Estates.	Tenures.	Rent-free lands.							
1	2			3	4	5	6	7	8	9
					Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A.	Rs.	Rs. A.	
Result of last revaluation.	2,737	1,57,397	91	1,514	35,59,081 11 10	1,98,983 5 0	2,360 12	97,338	64 5	
Result of present revaluation.	2,700	93,895	Nil.	1,213	38,05,634 2 11	2,11,829 4 8	3,137 6	33,199	27 6	January 1917 to March 1919.

## STATISTICAL APPENDICES.

## APPENDIX A.

Milan Khasra for the Whole District.

OF TA.	CULTIVATED AREA (ACRES).														UNCULTIVATED AREA			
															CULTURABLE BUT NOT C			
															Fallow.			
	Autumn crops.		Winter crops.		Spring crops.		Miscellaneous.		Total.		Cropped more than once.		Net cropped area.		Old.		New.	
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.
aj ...	33,077	68	93,363	66	7,925	05	11,839	71	146,196	07	31,936	50	114,269	57	110	03	171	40
...	24,818	74	55,519	27	10,571	17	9,182	58	100,091	76	31,310	53	68,581	93	7,325	36	239	14
...	49,752	24	87,814	09	17,770	90	8,503	07	183,932	20	61,451	75	102,480	55	2,223	11	1,009	71
gānj ...	10,675	13	21,776	45	5,834	62	1,994	77	40,380	97	15,319	43	24,461	49	629	71	70	87
...	21,047	19	43,733	99	2,078	36	11,267	12	78,124	86	19,626	16	58,498	50	118	08	138	70
ur ...	35,619	62	75,959	25	12,560	95	22,435	15	149,564	07	45,871	87	103,693	10	124	75	255	64
ālyā ...	29,320	16	47,379	30	5,240	14	1,212	76	83,152	36	23,537	20	59,615	18	1,901	89	9	90
...	3,053	19	76,955	94	6,905	21	4,366	15	91,983	49	11,502	15	79,781	34	4,513	21	307	22
tiā ...	5,510	39	44,493	57	6,582	95	1,150	02	57,736	93	8,953	67	48,783	26	6,275	78	890	81
tiā ...	2,719	03	55,203	24	7,341	63	3,847	90	69,112	05	9,318	45	59,793	59	945	53	556	61
...	218,592	39	602,198	76	82,812	18	75,841	23	879,476	56	259,517	77	719,957	79	24,170	47	3,650	00

OF NA.	UNCULTIVATED AREA (ACRES).																			
	CULTURABLE BUT NOT CULTIVATED.										UNCULTURABLE.									
	Thatching grass.	Miscellaneous.	Net culturable.	Homesteads, mosques and temples.	Tanks and ditches.	Rivers and streams.	Marsh, unculturable fallow and char.	Roads and cattle paths.	Miscellaneous.	Net unculturable.										
	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21										
	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.
aj ...	1,584	76	295	93	2,777	62	7,109	10	10,123	13	1,512	11	1,984	89	2,043	51	537	19	23,309	93
...	1,316	81	328	81	12,414	56	4,662	28	4,108	00	1,854	54	12,950	11	1,573	62	221	04	25,349	59
...	1,515	34	1,093	34	6,736	99	5,515	00	6,517	46	6,227	86	3,637	43	2,655	10	559	19	25,112	04
gānj ...	392	66	91	62	1,737	94	1,222	87	569	67	1,629	52	10,563	85	338	88	194	11	14,516	20
...	702	65	87	30	1,197	16	4,953	48	6,473	98	777	91	1,583	55	1,340	99	101	81	15,232	10
ur ...	1,103	09	1,861	11	2,943	18	5,898	07	6,146	23	2,177	12	2,395	04	1,687	40	250	58	18,554	44
ālyā ...	1,408	11	8	33	3,544	23	2,854	10	5,518	08	8,185	43	655	71	2,174	64	7,333	41	26,621	36
...	1,355	71	3,950	09	10,241	82	1,358	14	2,842	56	4,965	65	19,483	33	799	01	175	80	29,624	49
tiā ...	219	41	6,794	78	14,195	40	1,487	11	891	84	1,788	92	9,818	61	1,152	10	489	04	15,607	62
tiā ...	759	08	20,268	40	22,341	05	3,354	29	3,006	70	3,668	03	15,179	44	1,705	98	788	08	27,727	50
...	10,357	62	36,979	21	77,829	96	38,423	94	46,107	53	32,782	08	78,252	36	16,459	21	10,530	25	221,475	87

## APPENDIX B.

## Crop Statement for the Whole District.

NAME OF THANA.	CEREAL AND PULSES.																			
	Rice.						Wheat.		Barley.		Lathyrus Sativus.		Brummbloss.		Mung.		Gram.		Other food-grains.	
	Aus.		Aman.		Boro.															
1	2		3		4		5		6		7		8		9		10		11	
	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.
Beganganj ...	20,330	61	93,308	45	22	78	...	...	22	...	2,498	25	511	39	253	88	23	03	2,159	65
Noakhali ...	21,947	22	55,518	16	10	18	...	...	13	...	5,190	01	166	30	332	65	3	00	1,780	94
Feni ...	49,379	64	87,805	78	18	35	...	...	...	...	9,345	56	872	52	783	22	41	58	2,837	89
Compagnyganj ...	10,579	99	21,774	52	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,257	53	39	53	271	02	1	50	295	31
Ramganj ...	17,996	98	43,733	32	3	81	...	...	1	39	675	58	83	01	41	28	7	49	303	48
Lakshimpur ...	30,062	91	75,894	70	...	56	...	...	1	51	4,223	65	985	76	80	80	1	22	1,877	19
Chhaganaiya ...	29,110	77	46,768	72	3	75	...	...	...	...	552	38	13	23	20	87	11	20	398	83
Sandwip ...	2,908	04	76,942	29	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,692	07	18	26	73	37	...	08	1,183	45
North Hattia ...	5,493	00	44,483	14	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,597	81	109	31	741	54	...	...	1,043	73
South Hattia ...	2,703	82	55,200	14	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,156	81	88	28	902	16	...	...	1,230	86
Total ...	100,412	98	601,434	23	60	43	...	...	3	26	34,189	63	2,087	66	3,546	81	89	10	13,011	32

NAME OF THANA.	OILSEEDS.								FIBRES PRODUCING SUGAR.						FIBRES.					
	Linseed.		Til or gingelly.		Mustard and rapeseed.		Other kinds of oilseeds.		Condiments and spices.		Sugarcane.		Other kinds.		Hemp.		Jute.		Mestha.	
1	12		13		14		15		16		17		18		19		20		21	
	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.
Begamganj ...	282	53	47	65	257	53	23	92	1,886	86	42	23	2	98	19	50	12,727	54	...	...
Noakhali ...	670	81	58	65	45	34	2	42	2,325	80	1	11	...	...	...	...	2,871	52	...	...
Feni ...	802	64	41	99	70	70	8	54	3,159	46	8	31	...	...	1	21	471	39	...	...
Compagnygauj ...	751	40	9	97	7	21	...	...	1,100	61	1	93	...	...	...	...	96	14	...	...
Ramganj ...	2	85	3	65	54	42	6	29	894	56	...	98	...	...	...	...	3,030	23	...	...
Lakshimpur ...	368	74	40	44	59	67	31	60	5,693	77	64	56	...	...	...	...	8,556	57	...	14
Chhaganaiya ...	4	29	129	47	74	15	609	33	3,126	41	810	58	...	...	77	79	131	60	...	...
Sandwip ...	540	73	...	60	5	55	3	00	2,891	11	13	65	...	...	...	...	145	15	...	...
North Hattia ...	616	69	1	46	1	13	5	18	1,428	90	5	43	...	...	...	...	17	39	...	...
South Hattia ...	807	85	20	78	...	79	6	36	1,028	45	3	10	...	...	...	...	15	26	...	...
Total ...	4,917	03	352	66	576	49	696	64	23,333	94	751	55	2	98	98	50	28,081	79	...	14

NAME OF THANA.	Tobacco.		Fodder crops.		Betel (pan).		Fruit-bearing orchard vegetables.		MISCELLANEOUS.						Grand Total.		Twice cropped.		Not cropped area.	
									Food-crops.				Non-food crops.							
									Potatoes.		Others.									
1	22		23		24		25		26		27		28		29		30		31	
	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.
Beganganj ...	...	14	280	78	119	01	11,246	77	17	61	141	81	...	...	145,196	07	31,926	50	114,269	57
Noakhali ...	...	...	1	00	12	43	9,072	29	17	60	65	99	3	09	100,091	76	31,510	53	68,581	23
Feni ...	3	81	115	71	49	70	5,886	15	148	89	2,375	73	...	54	163,932	30	81,451	75	102,480	56
Compagniganj ...	...	54	...	26	234	41	1,730	87	3	71	25	52	...	...	40,282	97	15,819	48	24,461	49
Ramganj ...	2	36	40	03	120	20	11,079	49	1	65	11	86	...	08	78,124	66	19,626	16	58,498	60
Lakshimpur ...	...	61	510	87	16	70	21,863	91	5	82	26	32	...	97	149,564	97	46,871	67	103,693	10
Chhaganaiya ...	...	...	...	85	113	73	879	84	174	99	25	14	14	46	83,152	36	23,537	20	59,615	16
Sandwip ...	...	...	...	...	21	13	4,309	41	9	81	24	70	1	10	91,283	49	11,502	15	79,781	34
North Hattia ...	...	19	...	...	...	...	1,149	14	...	...	...	88	...	...	57,758	93	8,953	67	48,783	28
South Hattia ...	...	...	1,637	92	4	33	2,200	07	5	38	...	20	...	...	69,112	05	9,318	46	59,793	59
Total ...	7	65	2,607	37	691	64	69,417	94	385	49	2,696	15	20	24	979,475	56	259,517	77	719,957	79

## APPENDIX C.

## Tippera and Noa khali Settlement.

## Agricultural Stock List for the Area dealt with.

SERIAL NO.	Name of Thana.	Bulls.	Bullocks.	Cows.	Calves.	Male buffaloes.	Female buffaloes.	Buffalo calves.	Sheep.	Goats.	Horses.	Ploughs.	Carts.	Boats.
1	Beganganj ...	1,429	30,589	29,968	23,710	41	108	76	138	10,474	118	17,675	214	9,815
2	Noakhali ...	1,473	12,982	16,497	12,605	228	342	163	84	4,199	71	8,764	391	739
3	Feni ...	2,906	17,365	19,776	17,076	864	450	237	674	7,535	129	13,686	418	1,121
4	Sandwip ...	364	3,696	2,214	2,434	979	682	352	189	946	15	2,516	142	153
5	Compagnyganj ...	1,791	4,145	6,975	8,575	317	289	91	353	1,585	27	3,622	147	113
6	Ramganj ...	538	14,521	12,020	9,865	35	6	1	13	4,000	53	7,368	38	4,479
7	Lakshimpur ...	778	19,545	14,928	13,536	185	47	18	55	4,891	116	9,383	220	2,237
8	North Hattia ...	...	1,611	1,687	1,176	707	436	39	676	42	1,280	...	41	53
9	South Hattia ...	1,716	4,804	5,322	5,376	2,395	1,904	1,241	336	3,226	43	5,005	219	182
10	Chhaganaiya ...	34	266	124	108	3	...	...	...	40	2	171	7	9
GRAND TOTAL		11,287	108,984	109,479	89,450	5,723	4,569	2,645	2,081	87,432	614	69,470	1,837	18,901



**APPENDIX D.**

## Statistics of Tenancies and

Noakhali

Serial No.	NAME OF THANA.	IN THE DIRECT OCCUPATION OF																							
		Total area of the Thana.		TENURE-HOLDERS.												Tenure by custom.		Raiyats (service).							
				Proprietors.		Rent-free.				Permanent at fixed rent.				Permanent not at fixed rent.						Temporary.					
						No.	Area in acres.	No.	Area in acres.	No.	Area in acres.	No.	Area in acres.	No.	Area in acres.					No.	Area in acres.	No.	Area in acres.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17									
1	Begumganj ...	140,371	40	1,822	4,073.82	476	671.00	5,921	13,017.64	291	478.96	3	15.47	10,244	27,023.09	385	244.71								
2	Noākballi ...	90,489	04	968	9,482.46	152	264.22	3,133	7,115.01	255	1,300.47	...	...	5,956	11,478.63	157	103.80								
3	Feni ...	104,238	44	959	4,050.55	291	295.78	5,851	18,430.02	1,887	3,157.39	2	89	12,541	23,383.15	373	186.43								
4	Compānyganj ...	37,051	06	52	4,072.52	51	83.78	478	1,607.93	1,642	4,312.08	10	47.03	1,312	3,764.48	64	40.37								
5	Sāndwip ...	61,628	71	473	10,945.75	17	31.20	1,222	3,457.44	345	1,359.19	...	...	4,115	14,369.86	34	32.31								
6	Rāmganj ...	74,920	16	775	1,525.25	638	307.41	5,282	5,002.02	175	215.74	2	...	3,319	8,298.28	217	175.84								
7	Lakshmipur ...	114,205	94	702	2,679.39	786	347.62	4,856	4,715.81	339	467.12	...	...	10,605	23,684.23	443	370.94								
8	North Hātā ...	50,449	61	40	11,166.28	2	27	807	2,097.19	128	566.19	98	566.55	900	2,829.54	36	31.44								
9	South Hātā ...	68,680	00	35	8,442.44	42	10.27	734	4,305.42	337	5,915.14	6	3.58	1,997	8,452.20	49	35.13								
10	Ohhāgalnāiyā ...	1,501	99	16	46.29	9	40.21	80	118.54	28	27.46	...	...	313	153.14	7	4.53								
Grand Total of Noakhali district operation		743,536	35	6,847	56,504.75	2,464	2,051.76	28,334	59,866.92	5,427	17,700.63	121	633.62	61,302	124,236.40	1,765	1,225.60								

Serial No.	NAME OF THANA.	Settled and occupancy raiyats on fixed produce rent.		Settled and occupancy raiyats on share of produce rent.		Non-occupancy raiyats on fixed produce rent.		Non-occupancy raiyats on share of produce rent.		Other classes.		Occupants (i. e., if non-agricultural holdings).		UNDER-		
														With rights of occupancy on cash rent.		
		No.	Area in acres.	No.	Area in acres.	No.	Area in acres.	No.	Area in acres.	No.	Area in acres.	No.	Area in acres.	Rent.	No.	Area in acres.
		34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48
														Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.
1	Begumganj ...	20	24.51	60	38.89	4	3.60	2	.72	95	73.59	282	24.62	5,112 11 3	4,982	5,323.23
2	Noakhali ...	15	14.62	12	11.68	...	...	6	16.29	76	121.06	728	347.18	9,547 15 11	1,950	1,874.27
3	Feni ...	54	43.60	117	72.19	3	3.56	1	.38	66	149.62	648	69.35	2,596 8 2	77	59.02
4	Compānyganj ...	...	...	9	3.30	...	...	...	...	16	806.25	2	849.78	283 11 6	75	73.12
5	Sāndwip ...	14	22.53	40	45.75	2	.84	3	4.28	6	1.77	161	13.78	1,005 10 0	...	...
6	Rāmganj ...	...	...	81	19.58	90	7.38	...	...	212	156.39	514	23.14	1,506 13 10	265	381.59
7	Lakshmipur ...	58	68.34	62	94.93	1	.48	4	1.87	39	30.15	595	71.36	2,559 5 11	2,778	3,213.21
8	North Hātā ...	5	16.82	10	7.68	...	...	...	...	4	.56	36	2.12	126 4 0	17	94.06
9	South Hātā ...	18	23.35	18	28.42	...	...	5	3.98	4	9.87	139	25.14	671 12 2	10	81.22
10	Ohhāgalnāiyā ...	7	6.03	4	1.59	...	...	...	...	7	5.71	20	1.21	37 8 0	...	...
	Grand Total of Noakhali district operation.	191	319.70	363	329.01	30	15.86	21	27.52	525	1,364.87	3,115	1,447.68	24,128 4 9	10,102	11,050.42

## DIX D.

## Rent for the Area dealt with.

## Settlement.

Raiyats at fixed rent.				Settled and occupancy raiyats on cash rent.				Settled and occupancy raiyats liable to rent but no rent fixed.	Non-occupancy raiyats on cash rent.				Non-occupancy raiyats liable to rent but no rent fixed.		
No.	area in acres.	Rent.	Rate of rent per acre.	No.	Area in acres.	Rent.	Rate of rent per acre.	No.	Area in acres.	No	Area in acres.	Rent.	Rate of rent per acre.	No	Area in acres.
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33
		Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.			Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.					Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.		
8,872	15,815'26	80,264 1 11	5 1 4	34,811	77,281'58	2,92,289 11 10	3 12 3	579	724'98	177	152'93	1,588 11 5	10 12 9	44	16'03
4,702	7,201'01	41,711 10 6	5 12 10	3,484	47,044'67	1,99,326 6 5	4 3 11	349	285'01	481	4,355'48	10,768 9 10	2 7 9	49	234'61
1,592	2,544'87	13,889 1 0	7 3 4	41,138	47,156'91	3,08,809 13 9	6 8 8	1,572	1,699'37	125	239'15	2,019 8 10	8 7 2	282	317'77
554	827'91	4,520 1 2	5 7 4	8,034	17,652'13	81,466 12 9	4 0 10	95	99'27	326	1,244'03	3,057 9 10	2 7 4	10	13'82
32	65'01	184 0 6	2 11 3	7,690	38,187'71	1,06,105 7 2	4 0 10	214	213'08	873	4,242'49	9,169 14 1	2 2 7	109	459'70
2,773	6,665'79	26,074 15 0	3 14 7	20,856	51,552'73	1,83,573 7 10	3 0 0	592	874'50	7	17'38	61 1 8	3 6 3	16	1'99
5,934	9,341'66	65,863 0 7	5 16 8	28,359	71,313'11	2,04,054 3 2	4 4 2	380	332'33	79	36'97	206 3 11	5 9 3	7	1'29
430	1,161'88	4,393 4 2	3 11 6	3,511	21,358'14	61,134 2 7	2 11 2	47	30'58	1,476	10,849'68	38,253 8 4	3 8 7	3	1'83
172	541'72	2,536 5 7	4 10 10	5,799	16,317'48	81,039 3 9	4 0 4	32	43'84	2,914	21,357'08	45,102 10 6	2 10 9	5	0'97
...	...	...	...	1,151	964'22	5,157 6 3	5 5 5	92	51'08	...	...	...	...	2	1'10
24,830	44,170'90	2,23,336 8 5	5 3 2	153,813	378,696'63	16,26,956 11 6	4 4 5	3,952	1,351'49	6,458	42,493'39	1,10,317 14 3	2 9 6	527	1,029'31

## RAIYATS.

With rights of occupancy liable to rent but no rent fixed.		Without rights of occupancy on cash rent.			Without rights of occupancy liable to rent but no rent fixed.		With rights of occupancy on fixed produce rent.		Without rights of occupancy on fixed produce rent.		Without rights of occupancy on share of produce rent.		Area outside the record.	Area occupied for public purposes.	Number of khairians having no khas land.
No.	Area in acres.	No.	Area in acres.	Rent.	No.	Area in acres.	No.	Area in acres.	No.	Area in acres.	No.	Area in acres.	Acres.	Acres.	
50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65
				Rs. A. P.											
62	46'56	7,072	6,072'73	47,677 15 0	275	166'65	2	85	3	3'14	40	28'85	5'13	703'04	12,229
21	10'72	4,020	3,807'52	30,918 12 0	150	121'25	4	5'24	20	64'06	21	18'19	584'80	527'84	6,905
5	3'71	3,635	1,849'91	14,459 13 2	206	78'15	...	...	11	10'20	41	17'06	1,876'68	540'68	7,267
1	11	1,626	1,403'83	1,765 14 9	13	28'41	...	...	6	11'34	3	7'90	444'92	1,176'46	885
...	...	683	1,360'35	9,292 2 2	31	41'74	...	...	...	...	10	28'66	43'35	249'41	375
28	25'69	3,533	3,876'63	2,946 11 8	179	127'54	...	...	26	23'90	18	11'48	...	86'74	...
29	19'60	7,398	8,450'19	70,046 7 2	196	146'24	...	...	54	81'22	108	241'35	288'47	356'97	...
...	...	1,119	3,129'39	15,443 6 11	33	21'66	...	...	1	1'33	10	10'77	...	42'36	...
...	...	1,359	2,764'67	16,467 11 4	63	53'83	...	...	14	25'35	7	11'01	...	160'17	...
...	...	104	46'91	480 11 11	13	2'67	...	...	5	4'11	9	3'86	78'07	2'81	...
146	103'33	30,543	32,762'13	2,18,499 10 1	1,149	778'14	6	5'89	142	223'64	268	380'13	3,322'13	3,848'48	27,671 (A. Block.)